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JOURNAL

OF

A TOUR

IN

GERMANY, SWEDEN, RUSSIA, POLAND,

DURING THE YEARS 1813 AND 1814.

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PREFACE.

THERE is so much of resemblance between the several nations of the more civilised world at the present day, so much of uniformity in a journey through the countries which they inhabit, that the modern traveller in Europe relinquishes all thought of exciting public attention by the detail of personal adventure. Hence the examples furnished by the simple and interesting stories of our ancient tourists are neglected, and in their stead we are presented with political theories, surveys military, statistical or scientific, collections of historical anecdotes, or, perhaps, a lively essay on the genius and character of a people.

In the present volume it is not meant either to launch into subjects which do not fall within the province of a common observer, or to publish unauthenticated and doubt-

ful gleanings of private scandal; or yet to undertake disquisitions that require more time than could have been here allotted to the task. But such topics cannot altogether be passed over, and they will be touched upon, though merely *en voyageur;* that is, as far as is requisite to a faithful description of the various matters that came under observation in the course of the tour. Of these, the changes and revolutions arising out of late events, if a traveller may judge from his own feelings, will not prove the least acceptable.

The form of a journal has been preferred, as giving an opportunity of stating facts as well as opinions, in the order in which they really occurred; whereby the reader will be enabled with less prejudice to draw his own inferences. If, in any part, a more unconnected style should in consequence have been introduced, it is presumed the defect will be amply compensated by this advantage.

The first section is, perhaps, somewhat bare of information; but this must be referred to a circumstance which, since travelling is so much in vogue, will be duly ap-

pretiated by most people; namely, the timidity, not to say incompetence of observation, which attends the first steps upon a foreign shore. It is long before a stranger trusts to what he sees and hears, or rather knows to what he should trust, and still longer before he attains the just habit of conducting enquiry.

On the subject of proper names, perhaps some apology may be due to the fashion of the age, for not having introduced (as far as I am aware) any novelties in spelling or pronunciation. The old and received methods have been constantly adopted, though not without due consideration. It may fairly be asked, indeed, what reason exists to make innovation necessary? Every other nation in Europe is indulged in its own idiomatic pronunciation of these words, and why should we refuse ourselves a similar licence? While Vienna is known as *Wien*, or *Vienne;* Austria as *Österreich*, or *Autriche;* while *das Preussen* and *das Russland* in one language are the substitutes for *la Prusse* and *la Russie* in another, there can be no reason why an Englishman should not talk of Prussia and Russia, or even *Prussha* and *Russha* if he please.

The confusion that has been introduced into ancient geography, as well as history, from the accommodation afforded to the delicate ear of Greece, may be urged in favour of reform in our days; but, on the other hand, this fact, as far as it tends to prove the antiquity, as well as the general prevalence of the custom, may be said to shew the natural impracticability of any proposed scheme of alteration. As to its success, indeed, in any way, we may safely assert, that whatever variation is made in the spelling or pronunciation of a foreign proper name, be the means what they may, syllabic abbreviation, elongation, or elision, we shall find, upon comparison being made, that we do not advance one single step nearer to the native pronunciation than before.

During my residence in several towns, I have received many civilities and attentions from individuals, which merit every expression of gratitude; but I should think their kindness ill requited if I took this opportunity of dragging their names before the public: by my silence it is conceived their private feelings will be best consulted, while they will still know, as I feel, that it is not because they are forgotten.

My companion, during the former part of my journey, was Sir James Milles Riddell, Bart. whom I am happy to reckon amongst those whose intimacy I acquired early in college life; and during the latter, W. Macmichael, Esq. M. B. Radcliffe travelling fellow of the University of Oxford, from the turn of whose pursuits I gathered much additional information.

I am in duty bound to make every acknowledgment in my power to the Honourable Heneage Legge; it is to his friendship I stand indebted for the masterly and spirited etchings which accompany this volume; but I feel I should overstep the limits of propriety, were I to forestal that praise which the public will not fail to bestow.

To Robert William Hay, Esq. of the Admiralty, I am under the greatest obligations, not only for his kind and friendly assistance in many other respects, but in particular for the narrative of his visit to Tulchyzn, with which he has enriched my last section, and which will be found to contain a very able and interesting account of the modern state of Polish seignoralty.

There are many other persons whom I should wish to mention here, and publicly to profess my gratitude, did I not fear that in so doing my motive would appear open to another charge, and that I should subject myself to that of indulging an ostentatious self gratification, by associating their names with my own.

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SECTION I.

PART OF SWEDEN AND THE NORTH OF GERMANY.

Gottenburg — Trolhättan — Commerce, &c. — Helsinburg — Lund—Ystadt—Rostock—Mecklenburg Schwerin—Government—State of Peasantry—Berlin—Arts and Manufactures —Prospect of Hostilities—Distress of Prussia—Opening of the Campaign—Affair of Gros-beeren—Alarm at Berlin—Moreau—King of Prussia—Victory of Juterbock—Politics, &c.—Journey to Stralsund—English Troops—Trade, &c. —Mineralogical Notices.

It was in the summer of 1813, while the operation of the French decrees still precluded the ordinary avenues to the continent, that we set sail from Harwich for the coast of Sweden. We were detained by circumstances of weather longer than the period commonly allotted for this voyage, and only on the fourteenth day were gratified with a sight of the port of Gottenburg. As our haven, this spot had a double claim to interest; but neither was it in itself devoid

of beauty, or picturesque effect; a retired inlet, surrounded with rugged clifts and ancient fortresses, busied with infinite variety of foreign shipping, and displaying at its upper extremity all the architectural pride of a rich commercial city. On entering the place we were struck with the symmetry and splendor of the buildings, and admired, at leisure, the several bustling groups that thronged its canals, bridges, and quays, where their never ceasing activity seemed to bespeak the important concerns of this great emporium of the country.

Our first night on shore passed with more than ordinary pleasure; and we waked in the morning to the lively airs of a military band of music that pays the compliment of welcome to every new arrival.

Already possessing the impatience of travellers, our forebud *(foreboder)* was dispatched in advance; and two pair of horses in the Swedish fashion being yoked abreast to the carriage, we set out, before the oppressive heat of the day had well commenced, on an excursion to Trolhättan and its neighbourhood. Our mode of conveyance, in appearance so triumphal, was afforded at the moderate expense of 12 skillings bco. (9d.) each horse per mile, nearly equal to seven of our measure: with regard to extra expenses, two or three shillings to the postillion at the end of the stage, as snaps or drink money, was held a liberal gratuity. The roads were excellent, the rate of posting remarkably expeditious; and in addition to these advantages, the regulation of the dag-boke *(day-book)*, where at each stage the

traveller is required to enter his name, as well as the complaints he may be desirous of preferring against the postmaster, is a sufficient check upon his conduct to secure even a stranger against any attempt at imposition.

Rye cakes, milk and fruit, were the only provisions to be had on the way; no other circumstance however that could give a charm to travelling was wanting. Our route lay chiefly on the river side, and abounded in successive changes of picturesque scenery; the valley was inclosed with low broken hills of a rich verdure, interspersed with forests of pine, amidst which the bare rock started out at intervals here and there irregularly; a style of landscape never rising to the character of the sublime, or sinking below a certain degree of interest; but its peculiar features have not long since been traced out by so able a pencil*, that to attempt any other delineation would be alike useless and vain.

We arrived at our destination early in the evening, and without loss of time repaired to the cataracts of the Gotha, the din of whose waters had been long within our hearing. It was a scene of stupendous horror: the whole body of this majestic river, hurried over four mountainous precipices in rapid succession, presented a sight which not all the tropes and figures of the poetasters of the album at Trolhättan, in all their several languages, can set out with appropriate imagery.

* See Sketches of Scenery in Norway and Sweden by Sir T. D. Acland, Bart.

But whatever attention might be due to the face of nature, there were works of art at this place that challenged an almost equal share of our admiration. A canal of 10,400 feet in length and 22 in breadth, cut through a rock of granite at a depth in one part of 150 feet, rendering this passage securely navigable, where the cataracts had for many ages entirely obstructed the communications of the country, was a conception far beyond the reach of ordinary minds. The undertaking was completed, after six years labour, in the year 1800, and it already * pays an interest of 42,000 R. D. per annum upon a capital of 358,988, originally expended in the adventure. This return, which amounts to near 12 per cent., affords the most unequivocal testimony both of its success and of its great public utility. As the speculation indeed of a company of individuals unaided by the government, it is an example of enterprise perhaps no where to be met with out of the limits of Great Britain; as a triumph of skill in the art of engineering, it has effected an object, whose difficulty is proved by the several abortive experiments yet visible on the spot; and as a national benefit, it connects the eastern provinces, through the lakes Wenner and Wettern, and the Soderköping canal, with the western coast and the grand commercial outlet of Gottenburg.

It is scarcely possible duly to appreciate the advantages that must accrue to a country of such vast extent and so

* The toll duty is seven skillings each skeppund, or 3 cwt. English: ten skillings per dozen for deals.

thinly inhabited, from the improvement of her means of internal communication. We hear at home an almost incredible value assigned as the amount of our domestic commerce; and it will require but little sagacity to see that in the present condition of Sweden, this facility of circulation can alone afford means of diffusing or equalising the general wealth and resources of the nation.

The ingenious construction of their sawing-mills may be mentioned here, although common in many parts of these provinces. The balks of fir being thrown into the river for carriage as soon as felled, are collected from the reflux of a bason at the foot of the cataract, and each being drawn out with machinery, is separated into planks by eight or ten perpendicular saws ranged abreast; the whole of the apparatus is set in motion by a water wheel, and acts much on the same principle as the sawing-mills lately constructed by Mr. Brunell at Woolwich, though by no means carried to so high a degree of mechanical perfection.

July 8.—Our road from Trolhättan continued through much the same country as before, till at length, after a few miles, we came in view of the town of Wennersburg, the seat of the provincial government, which is said to contain 1400 inhabitants: it is remarkable for little else than its appearance of extreme poverty; the squares, the churches, the streets, are all of wood, daubed, according to fashion, with yellow or red ochre, and in a moderate state of cleanliness or repair. The district was now filled with military belonging to the army for the protection of the frontier on

the side of Norway; and a division of these troops pitching their tents on the banks of the lake Wenner, added a new feature to the wildness of the prospect. Journeying onwards, scattered parties of soldiers met the eye in every direction; some reposing in the forest shade; others encamped in small detachments in the rocky defiles, or marching, in long array, over the distant hills: sometimes again we heard them chanting their evening hymn in the villages as we passed, with a solemnity that seemed to raise a thousand associations of elder days.

The head-quarters of F. M. Von Essen were at Uddevalla, where, since that time, the king also established himself during the expedition against Norway. This is a small picturesque place, slowly recovering from one of those conflagrations so frequent in their occurrence, and so destructive in their consequences to the wooden cities of Sweden. In order to secure themselves against such calamities, several minute regulations are put in force in every large town: the inhabitants are not only forbidden to build wooden houses higher than one story; but, as an additional measure of precaution, no one can smoke a pipe, or ride a horse fast in the streets, without incurring an heavy penalty from the police. There is some trade at Uddevalla incidental to its situation, but the herring fishery, once the chief source of profit at this place, and which formerly employed upwards of 2000 boats at Gottenburg, is now lost, as their shoals, for the last five years, have almost entirely deserted this part of the coast.

On our journey to Marstrand we observed several huge blocks of stone, eight or ten feet high, erected in the middle of a large plain, and forming apparently part of a circular range, but accompanied with many others irregularly disposed. Ancient remains of this rude sort are frequent in Sweden: they are traditionally reported to have been formerly used as places of judicature, agreeably to the destination which is assigned by an able and intelligent writer to Stonehenge, in Wiltshire.

The people of the neighbourhood regard the spot with superstitious awe, and believe that any person who dared to remove a single stone from its site would be instantly visited with a lingering sickness; and should he sacrilegiously withhold, or fail to replace the relic, the offender would assuredly pay the forfeit of his life. They told us that these unshapen monuments marked the spot of a battle once fought between the Danes and Swedes, and that each of these stones rested over an hero's sepulchre.

While contemplating the men who related to us this tale, it was impossible to check a reflection unfavourable to the present degenerate offspring of the once hardy and robust warrior of Scandinavia.

We beheld a spare, impotent, and meager race, that tottered on their legs, seeming to exhibit, in their figure and face, every symptom of premature decay. But it is not a matter of surprise that the constant use of ardent spirits, taking effect on a body impoverished by spare diet, and enervated by the chill of a long and severe winter, should display it-

self in consequences of the most detrimental nature. Their inveterate habit of drinking brandy, is the reason generally assigned for their wretched appearance; if any other seem necessary, it may be found in the peculiar composition of this pernicious liquor. Certain suspicions having arisen, an examination was lately ordered by the government, and the professor of chemistry, on analysing the composition, found it to contain a quantity of alcohol, very small in proportion, but that a strong vegetable extract of a deleterious quality had been introduced, for the purpose of heightening the intoxicating power of the liquor, at a cheap rate to the dealer.

In order to put a stop to this iniquitous practice, a monthly inspection with the spirit gauge has been proposed, with punishment to those who sell liquors below proof. It is imperious on the government to adopt some preventive regulations: for the right of distilling was vested exclusively in the crown by Gust. III, and the privilege is now farmed out under that authority. In token of this, the inns and brandy shops are obliged to emblazon the royal escutcheon of the three crowns in some open part of their premises; in the same way as the chequers (the arms of the Earls of Arundel who granted the licences) were formerly adopted in England, and are to this day painted on the shutters or doors of the alehouses in every town.

The heat of the weather was now excessive, the mercury rising even to 90° of Fahrenheit's scale in the shade, and the days were tediously lengthened: though we rose early in

the morning, it appeared as if we had reached the mid-day, and the ruddy beams of the setting sun were seen to gild the atmosphere until the latest hour of the night.

A singular effect during this season is observable in the landscape: the distant objects, when the sun is set, or concealed behind a cloud, assume a peculiarly heavy colourless aspect, and seem to an eye accustomed to English scenery, as the phrase is, not quite in keeping: a correspondent darkness may be remarked in many of the best Swedish engravings of country scenery, as well as in the beautiful pictures of Falcrantz, who has pourtrayed nature faithfully as he saw it. The phenomenon may perhaps arise from a greater condensation of the atmospheric moisture near the ground, in these northern latitudes, where the mean temperature of the earth is lowest: the particles in a semi-opake state impede the transmission of the coloured rays; the pure colour therefore, which is always broken down by a white tinge of haze where the particles are illuminated and reflect the ray of the sun, becomes in its absence obscured by a dark negative shade of black. A contrary effect takes place in the glowing climate of Italy, where the vapours of the atmosphere are more completely held in solution: the tints and hues of distant objects are both bright and clear, and even the parts in shade enlivened by the most brilliant reflections.

July 12th. Crossing the Gotha at Bohus, we returned to our hotel at Gottenburg. One of the chief subjects of general conversation was the Crown Prince's late visit during his tour of the kingdom, which had evidently rendered him

here extremely popular. Besides the good feeling which a kind reception not unfrequently engenders in the minds even of those that receive, he had himself personally won the affection of every individual by that warm-hearted courtesy which forms the most essential feature of his character. Nor had he gained less favour with the mercantile world by the abrupt dismissal of Buonaparte's agent, who was appointed as resident to superintend the execution of the Berlin and Milan decrees. To have permitted his stay, indeed, would have caused the ruin of Gottenburg.

These preposterous laws, so rigorously fulfilled on the continent, had turned the course of trade into new channels, producing a rich commercial harvest to this port, as the chief point of communication between England and the north of Europe. But at the same time, with these partial advantages, there were already felt effects the most prejudicial to the interest of the community, and that were seriously deplored by the merchants themselves. The enterprises of trade became a series of gambling speculations; every new violation of regularity and true dealing afforded a fresh opening for shift or subterfuge, while faith and honour, the basis of mutual intercourse, were as things unknown. It would be needless to attempt the enumeration of various instances of craft and duplicity necessary in carrying on this course of systematical fraud; false oaths, false papers, were matters of ordinary occurrence, and often even solemn engagements of trust were broken by men whose integrity had hitherto been held unimpeachable. A merchant from this place consigned goods to a house in a German

port: upon their arrival they were seized by the French executive, under the laws of the burning system, and condemned; upon this, several small packages were made up, agreeing with the number and description of those that were sequestered, and publicly committed to the flames. The French general shared, by agreement, the bulk of the property thus withdrawn from the operation of the law with the person to whom it was originally consigned; he on his part informed his correspondent that the goods were burnt (as in the eye of the law they were), and left him without power of redress. Temptations of this nature are too great for the spirit and feeling of trade to withstand: the high lustre and name of the British merchant have, in certain ports of the neighbouring seas, been obscured by yielding to the allurements which this new face of commerce held out; and though not concerned in transactions of so flagitious a description as those we have just mentioned, yet some individuals have undoubtedly engaged in affairs of that clandestine nature, which would, a few years back, have been held very incompatible with the strict honour of our countrymen.

The course of exchange was in nominal paper, at this time, in favour of England, but the quantity of bullion exported on private account proves that it was not in reality much more favourable in this quarter than elsewhere: the fact may be easily accounted for, since their paper was now at a depreciation of more than one-third of its value, when compared with the price of silver, which is made by law the standard of Sweden.

As to the business of Gottenburg, we may form some esti-

mate of its extent, from the circumstance of the exchange upon London being affected in its variation by so small a sum as 25,000*l.* if not drawn with great caution. Since this amount is of course within the reach of many monied men, an advantage has sometimes been gained by influencing the market, merely with a view to make a profit upon its fluctuations. A scheme of drawing upon London, through Hamburgh, with this intent, has answered extremely well upon occasion the aims of the speculator.

It was curious to see the paper notes of Denmark offered for acceptance in the Gottenburg Exchange, where their rix dollar, in its greatest state of depreciation, sold for about eight skillings banco, or four-pence halfpenny. The Danish government, in addition to their former embarrassments, had injured the credit of their issues by raising the nominal value of their specie. The consequence of this measure may be supposed: the peasant coming to town with a cargo of provisions for sale demanded the same number of pieces of small coin which he was before accustomed to receive, entirely disregarding the alleged increase of a sixth in the value assigned to each. The promissory acceptance of the government made but little difference; and thus, with the price of the necessaries of life all other articles rose, and paper experienced a proportionable depression.

As to Sweden, paper may be said, from its long use, to be almost the natural currency of the country; and on this ground I have given the value of the nominal money according to the present exchange, as approximating to the truth, rather than attempted to accommodate its rate to the

temporary increase of the worth of the precious metals, when the object is simply to ascertain, for purposes of comparison, the average standard prices of articles in general. The payment made for day labour, and the price of food, being facts illustrative of the economy of a country, have been carefully collected and noted down; the former represents fairly enough the sum for which householders, of the lowest rank, can be maintained, and from its high price we may draw an inference favourable to the improving condition of Sweden. The latter shews what may be purchased with that sum, but is liable in this respect to much variation, as neither can wheat or rye, or, indeed, the produce of any one grain, be called here an universal standard *.

Those concerns of traffic that look to any greater object than the direct exportation of a cargo of deals, iron, copper, &c. must necessarily depend upon the produce of a second freight to be procured in the course of the voyage. In this way their East India company traded with the settlements of that country, by means of silver annually borrowed at Lisbon; and the ships now in preparation to visit the new

* The denominations of the currency are two, banco, and rix geld.

Banco.	Rix geld.	Prices.	Rdb. sk.
Rundstych (copper) 12 = a skilling (copper) 48 = a rix dollar banco (paper) in value at the present exchange 3s. English.	Rundstych (copper) 12 = a skilling (copper) 48 = a dollar rix geld. in value about 2s. English.	Day labour in the country -	0 32
		Exchange upon London, for 1l. sterling -	7 0
		Par of exchange in undepreciated currency	4 32
		English guineas	10 24

The golden ducat (9s. 4d.) and silver dollar, are never to be met with; the value of the latter is 4s. 8d.

acquisition of Guadaloupe were intended to carry iron to America, and exchange it for a cargo of provisions; with this they were to proceed to the island, and return home laden with colonial produce. It is hardly to be imagined that Swedish manufactories could be in a state to supply matter for exportation; nevertheless they are daily increasing in activity, and enterprises in this line become more frequent in the neighbourhood of Gottenburg. One of the most successful speculations at this place is that of the sugar refinery, where, at the suggestion of a French experimentalist, a new mode has been adopted: beet-root is chiefly used in their process; by this a large expense is saved in the article of bullock's blood, which has hitherto been constantly imported from London by the proprietors of the establishment.

We had now dedicated as much time to Gottenburg as was warranted by the interest it afforded. On the 16th July, therefore, we prepared (and in Sweden much preparation is necessary) to set out on our journey to the south. An English fleet with troops on board was reported by telegraph to be in sight; but our *forebud* was gone, and we were obliged either to forfeit our horses or to proceed.

The first place at which we felt inclined to halt was Helsinburg, where we had a fine view of the Sound and the town of Helsineur, with Cronenburg castle about five English miles distant. Its vicinity, however, was of little consequence, for all communication between the opposite shores was at an end, and even hostile measures partially

adopted, though no actual declaration of war had taken place. A Danish boat, while we were loitering on the pier, was observed to put off and make for a Prussian galliot then passing downward; but on a shot being fired from the Swedish guardship, she hauled her wind, and returned with speed to port. The demands of the duty formerly exacted were now invariably resisted, to the no small detriment of the Danish finances; since upwards of twelve hundred vessels, each paying one per cent. on the value of her cargo, were averaged on the books of the toll in the course of the year. The Swedes were ordered to keep a strict watch, since these claims were not only attempted to be enforced, but several small vessels had been boarded and captured, under pretence of visiting them for the purpose of extorting the ancient tribute.

With regard to defensive measures, it is to the flotilla of gunboats, in the management of which the Swedish sailors have acquired so much expertness, that the protection of the towns bordering on the Sound is entrusted: and although the adverse coast approaches so near at this point, it is remarkable that not a single battery was to be seen on the shore for the security of Helsinburg. The place is left in an unarmed state, in conformity with the singular stipulations of a former treaty between Sweden and Denmark, dictated in the same spirit, and I believe inserted in the identical instrument, which settled the long disputed three crowns in the armorial bearings of Sweden, and forbade the repairs of one of the towers of Cronenburg castle. It would

oherwise seem a strange instance of neglect, when the fields immediately above the town remind the spectator of a contest that took place at one of the most critical periods in the history of this nation. The Danes, crossing the sea, landed here with a formidable army that menaced the country once more with a foreign yoke. The king, Charles XII. was then at Bender; and the provisional administration being feebly supported, it was with difficulty that General Steinboch was able to meet the invaders with a force hastily collected from the raw provincial militia: but the time called for promptitude and decision; he hazarded an engagement, and Swedish valour won the day.

The southern provinces in general bear strong marks of foreign colonization: the people are of a larger and handsomer race, their dress different, their cattle (particularly their breed of horses) less diminutive than those of the higher district. Much may be owing to their long occupation by the Danes; but it should be remembered, that these districts also afforded an asylum to the numerous Lutherans who sought shelter, during the reign of their protector Gustavus Adolphus, from the persecutions in Germany. Their descendants form altogether so large a class, that to this time there is no considerable town in the south without a church, where service is performed in the German language. Some Scotch farmers too, emigrants of the present day, had settled in these parts, and introduced their system of agriculture into the country with great ad-

vantage. That formerly in use consisted, they said, of a continued succession of dry crops, such as oats, barley, rye, peas, and was succeeded by one summer's fallow; a bad system, but not therefore to be assumed as the worst specimen of the old style of Swedish farming. The natives, however, deserve some credit for the excellent drainage of their low lands, where the water was drawn from the ditches by pumps worked with windmill sails, and whose general appearance was so much better than what we had before met with, that we looked upon it as the face of a new country: and unless the feeling of travellers, which is sometimes swayed by accidental prepossessions, induced us to think better of it than it deserved, there are few parts which afford so great a temptation to colonists both for pleasure and profit as the improving state of these tracts seemed to promise. We were in the enjoyment, it is true, of all the benefits of Swedish travelling. It was a beautiful evening, with a bright sun and cloudless sky; the road led through a country not of much interest indeed, but it was carried along a ridge of ground that rose with a gentle slope from the beach: the surface of the sea was studded with vessels under sail, and in the distance rose the spires of Copenhagen.

July 21. The university of Lund, as is usually the case of these seminaries on the continent, resembles nearer in its constitution that of a Scotch than of an English university, and consists only of one establishment. It was vacation time, but the few chance residents received us with

much politeness; in particular, M. Retzius, the professor of botany, who shewed us the botanical garden, a distinguished ornament of the place. The public library contains about 30,000 volumes, and some indifferent pictures of sundry chancellors of the university. The observatory possessed a five-foot refracting telescope of Dollond, a quadrant of Harris, a theodolite made at Stockholm, an old celestial globe, with some charts of constellations and a little selenography: but the most interesting object of our curiosity was the cathedral, a noble structure, the period of whose erection is referred to as early a date as the year 1020. It is built in a character perfectly corresponding with the Norman architecture of England; and exhibited, as is frequent in that style, the occasional introduction of the pointed arch, resting on large massive columns varied in shape and form. Underneath the nave of the eastern end is a spacious crypt, adorned with some farther curious specimens of that day. Amongst others, the giant Fin and his wife are represented, in rude sculpture, supporting the arcade in the manner of caryatides.

This giant, it appears (not less mischievously inclined than the traditional Griffin of York Minster,) removed by night every stone of the rising cathedral which the labour of the founder had placed during the day; nor would he engage to desist from his wanton employment on any consideration, till at last, thinking to have assigned a condition impossible to be fulfilled, he promised to leave the spot, when the founder's sagacity should enable him to discover

the name he bore. The unhappy man, growing careless alike of every thing through despair (or perhaps in conformity with the practice of classical heroes, when their wrath was kindled) indulged his grief in a solitary walk by the sea shore; here it chanced his meditations were interrupted by the voice of the giant's spouse calling for her dear Fin. He caught the sound with joy; returned forthwith to Lund; repeated the name with a loud voice three times in the dead of the night, and dispelled at once the charm. We find (according to the relation of graver histories), that Lund was erected into a bishopric in the time of Eric the Good, for the superintendance of all the churches of the North, which were till then under the jurisdiction of the bishops of Bremen and Lubec. The present revenues are about 1500 rix dollars banco (or 225*l.*) per annum, a comfortable episcopal income in this land of cheapness.

We travelled hence, through Malmo, a place of considerable trade and formerly one of the Hanseatic towns, to Ystadt, our next place of destination. The road was more enlivened by the idea that we were soon to embark for Germany than by any interest in what surrounded us, and we felt no small pleasure in our arrival at the port. The situation of this small town, so convenient for purposes of communication with Germany, had rendered it now a scene of much bustle: the inns were filled with mercantile adventurers, and a melancholy band of refugees, who were flying from the prosecution and vengeance of the French at Hamburg; nor was it without difficulty that we obtained accommodation. Here,

however, we were constrained to wait some days, perpetually disappointed in our hopes of departure by the dilatory conduct of the Swedish packet-master; and it was only on the 27th of July, by the kindness of Lieutenant Smith, the commander of a cutter which was there in attendance on the English couriers, we were enabled to quit the port. After two days sail with an adverse wind, we reached the Defiance, the flag ship of Rear Admiral Hope, at that time lying off Veenamunde, and were next forwarded about eight miles up the river to the town of Rostock, where, but for the greater degree of splendor which was displayed, we might have fancied ourselves still in Sweden. The streets, and in particular the market-place, afforded here, as there, some handsome specimens of the old fashioned German style of building; innumerable high spires and cumbrous lofty gable ends, surmounted with heavy decorations borrowed from different systems of architecture. However they may suffer in comparison with the more chaste fashions of modern ornament, their various combinations produced in some points an effect of considerable grandeur, and in the eye of a traveller had the appearance of forms not ill sorted with the unbending, unvarying solidity of the character of this people.

The brick walls of the town, part of which are now remaining, were built as early as the 12th century; the whole is now surrounded by earthen works of singular construction, high ramparts with a sloping escarp, and a ditch of nearly twice the depth allowed by the later rules of mili-

tary proportion, being of a scale almost as gigantic as that of the fortifications at Vienna: height, depth and length seem indeed at one time the only properties by which engineers sought to give strength to their fortresses; and so far have they succeeded that Rostock may be regarded, with a view to the uncertainties of the times, as a place capable of being defended with some advantage.

Frederic Francis, Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin, is the sovereign of this country: he is of a family that may be classed among the most ancient in Europe, being descended from the chiefs of those northern hordes, who, under the names of Vandals and Heruli, inundated the south of Europe in the fourth and fifth centuries. If it is necessary to enquire any farther, we shall be told that the hero from whom their lineal descent is traced was Anthyrius I., who died 320 A.C. To these people a Sclavonic colony was afterwards associated; but the same house, as kings of the Heruli, kings of the Vandals, as dukes or princes of Pomerania, of the Venedes, of Mecklenburg, &c. have been in possession of the throne until the present day. We must not forget, in this long order of sovereigns, that an Albert of Mecklenburg was once called to the crown of Sweden, to protect the liberty of that nation against ambitious Margaret, the Semiramis of the north.

The chief university of this principality is at Gustrow, at which place, and at Wismar, are established the tribunals or seats of justice. It contains a population of near 300,000 souls, and yields an annual revenue of 1,000,000 dol-

lars*. Notwithstanding which, Mecklenburg has not in later times occupied that rank in the Germanic body that, from its natural extent and power, it might fairly seem to challenge, chiefly in consequence, says Frederic II., of the perpetual dissensions kept up between the sovereign and the diet of the states by which the power of the executive is perpetually thwarted and counteracted. Representative assemblies (landstände) were at one time almost universal throughout Germany: it was only in a few provinces that the sovereign was, from the first, despotic; but where the power of convening them depended only on his will, they fell into gradual disuse and oblivion. Their establishment arose, in each instance, from the influence which the clergy, the lesser nobility, or the citizens, had created previous to the final erection of the principality; these classes therefore form the three estates. The several systems however were framed with an irregularity consequent upon the nature of their origin: in Mecklenburg, the nobles and citizens composed the diet; in Wirtemberg, the clergy and citizens; and in the Tyrol a fourth body was added from the deputies of the peasants. Their power also was various; in one country they levied the taxes, in another they were only called upon to guarantee the promissory issues of the sovereign, but in no instance were they regulated on a principle of equipoise and balance of political power, or calculated to afford all the benefits they professed to secure. Indeed the right

* The exchange upon London was 4 ½ dollars for 1*l.* With Sweden 2 paper dollars rix geld for a German d^r. The currency was chiefly in silver specie, pieces of ⅓ of a dollar, the coinage of Mecklenburg or the neighbouring states. A dollar=24 groschen=3*s.* English.

possessed by the subject of appealing from the tribunals of his sovereign to the high court of the empire (however necessary under circumstances) is, in itself, sufficient to discountenance any idea of establishing a mixed monarchy. It was of this very privilege, during the conference at Teschen, that the Duke of Mecklenburg solicited the abolition: his claim was heard, and its merits being duly weighed, acceded to, but still made subject to certain exemptions and restrictions, which render the measure a very inefficient remedy for the evil of which he complained.

There is another peculiarity to be attended to in the state of Mecklenburg, which is, that the peasants are still attached to the glebe, and sold as slaves together with the estates; nor is this the only example of the late existence of feudal bonds in these parts of the world: certain lands of the chapter of St. Cloud, in Franche Comté, were fiefs of a like nature, as also some particular estates in Bohemia and Hungary. The vassalage of Mecklenburg however does not weigh down the peasants like the oppressive hand of the seigneur in Russia or Poland; they are, to appearance, as happy as their neighbours, and exhibit in their easy condition a curious instance of the indirect influence which the refinement of manners, and general civilisation, may exert upon institutions still displaying in the letter their primeval severity and barbarism.

The present descendant of Anthyrius is a well disposed person: he resides chiefly at Dobberan, a very fashionable watering place, where he keeps up the festivities of the gay

world with great spirit; but times were critical, and a cutter was stationed off the coast, to enable him on the first appearance of the French to fly to Russia, where his connections with the imperial family assured him an asylum.

But it is not meant to throw any slur upon his character: he was the first prince of Germany who dared to withdraw from the confederation of the Rhine, and range himself under the banners of the allies. His people had shewn the greatest enthusiasm, attacking the French troops upon the first arrival of a division of the Russian army, even before the determination of the duke was known. Of his sons, Prince Gustavus had already distinguished himself; and the services of Prince Charles had also gained him an high character in the field. Considerable activity too had been manifested by the government in this cause: the landwehr, or regular militia, had been assembled to the amount of 12,000; while a detachment of 3,000 men, under aid of a subsidiary treaty with Great Britain, were on the point of marching to join the army of the North. Besides which, the landsturm, or levy en masse of the inhabitants of each district, were called out and exercised every Sunday evening: they were a motley, not to say grotesque group, habited in their working dresses, and armed with swords, muskets, pikes, or, as it appeared, such weapons as chance offered; forming at all times a stationary corps in the parts to which they belong, and capable of materially aiding the operations of war, by acting as partisans.

Having time enough before us, we made a visit to Dob-

beran, which was only two German miles distant from Rostock. The church, the relic of an ancient monastery, stands in a well wooded valley at the entrance of the village; a little removed from which are the palace of the duke, the public rooms, and the theatre; in the front of these are the fashionable promenades, encircling a small lawn decorated with Chinese pavilions, the whole bearing an air of singular gaiety and liveliness. We sat down in the hall on Sunday (which was a day of more than usual resort), upwards of 300 to dinner, the reigning duke and hereditary prince being at the head of the table d'hote, for little etiquette was observed. Several Russian, German, and Swedish officers, from the corps of Walmoden and Vegesack, stationed in advance of this place, mixed with the company, and the room glittered with stars. There were present also a number of merchants who had lately made their escape from Hamburg: their conversation turned upon the outrageous conduct of the French on their return to that unfortunate city; dwelling particularly on their having compelled the ladies that had worked the colours of the Hanseatic legion, as well as several venerable old men of considerable rank in the city (equally obnoxious from their patriotism), to make their appearance with spades in their hands, and muster with the common labourers, to labour on the fortifications. This is not the only instance of the barbarous conduct of the French towards the female sex that chance has brought to my knowledge during the course of my journey; but their "age of chivalry has long been passed," indeed;

revolutionary freedom of manner and speech has banished from society the breeding of the courtier, and Paris is no more mistress of ceremonies to the world.

As to Hamburg, there were other parties who, though not agents in this disgraceful scene, must be considered as answerable for events of which they were, in a great measure, the cause. The Russians had taken possession of the place without duly considering the consequence that would in all probability ensue: it was a step directly contrary to the advice of the Crown Prince of Sweden, who thought their force at that time by no means adequate to so extended a line of operations; neither could the town have been defended without the occupation of Altona; and the perverse Dane was an ally of Buonaparte. The prince had put the Swedish officer under arrest who joined this expedition without his orders; and however this act might appear to all an ordinary step for the preservation of discipline, yet it was now made the subject of much conversation, and afforded food for speculation on his future conduct. At Demmin, our next station, we hoped to have caught a sight of this extraordinary royal personage, for his head quarters were appointed at that town; but certain advices had induced the allies to change the plan of the campaign, and his presence was rendered necessary in another district.

Aug. 3.—Immediately on quitting the walls of Demmin we found we had passed the frontier, and entered the territory of Brandenburg: the line of our road (which the

slow rate of German * posting afforded ample opportunity of surveying) was occasionally interrupted by forests of vast extent, dark and tall; the rest consisted of large, unenclosed tracts of sandy uplands, cultivated with different grain, more remarkable for extent than fertility, and for whimsical variety than for any signs of the discriminating skill of the agriculturist. From the space thus laid out, the aggregate produce must be extremely large: it was from the exports indeed of this soil that Frederic II., who was a merchant-king as well as a general and philosopher, drew his immense wealth. "Apprenez-moi," said he, to one who presented an alchymical plan for producing gold, "apprenez-"moi des moyens de multiplier les bras des laboureurs, "et de recueillir plus de bled de mes sables, plus de foin "de mes plantes marécageuses,—voilà l'or que je cherche."

The want of inclosure is a sufficient testimony of a deficiency in point of skill; but the tenure of land in this country, and indeed on the continent in general, is not of a nature considered to operate most beneficially towards the interest of husbandry. It is true that, in the Lutheran countries, it is usually freed from the burthen of tithe; but every estate is divided in two parts, one of which is set out in proportionate shares † to be tilled by the peasants

* Price of posting, eight groschen (1*s.*) each horse per German mile, equal to about four and a half English miles, or 15 to a degree.

† Price of day labour in ordinary times, about six groschen, near Demmin, or 9*d.*

for their own subsistence; the other is cultivated for their landlords, in order to fill the capacious granaries invariably attached to the mansion of seignoralty: thus is removed from both parties either the stimulus to improvement, or the power of effecting it.

The condition of these people is by no means grievously burdensome: their Höfdienst or soccage service requires the labour of perhaps three or four days in the week during the busy month of harvest; at other times it is but light, and their duties are discharged by turns. Their cottages were large and roomy; the inhabitants, though few were now to be seen, in appearance well fed and comfortable, partaking something of the ease discernible in this class in countries where they are themselves proprietors, and something of the plenty of those who are more immediately dependent on their lords. It is a matter of curious remark, that on affairs in which the king is concerned, the mode of summoning the peasantry is by a staff sent round the village by the schültze or bailiff from house to house; each cottager, as he receives it, conveying it to his neighbour, much in the same way as the members of the Scottish clans were formerly gathered together by the token of the burning cross.

A few miles carried us over another frontier into the dominion of Mecklenburg Strelitz; and in a few hours we arrived at its metropolis, the city of Neu Strelitz. This duchy was separated from the parent state of Mecklenburg in the person of Adolphus Frederick II. at the end of the

seventeenth century, upon the same preposterous principle which has so frequently multiplied in each family the petty sovereignties of Germany: 300,000 dollars are the reputed amount of the revenues, and the population is at least 70,000. From these means a due contingent of military force, with British assistance, had been furnished to the allied powers. The people well know the curses attendant upon French invasion from their neighbour's example, if not from their own; one of their chief towns indeed was actually plundered during the campaign of 1806, being mistaken, on account of its contiguity, for a part of the Prussian dominions.

Even at this early stage of the war, while success seemed so doubtful, the zeal with which the Dukes of Mecklenburg had come forward was worthy of the highest praise, and in serving their own interest they had merited the gratitude of Europe; but the ardent spirit displayed by Prussia was of another description, and an example unparalleled in the history of modern times. We passed again into the Brandenburg territory near Hohenzieritz, and a marked difference became immediately visible in the face of the country. On every side it bore the silence and solitude of a deserted land; swept off for the exigencies of war, not a man capable of bearing arms was to be seen, and the village cross or the well, usual haunts of the gaping rustic, was every where alike forsaken. The corn stood ripe in the fields without hands sufficient to gather the harvest. Here and there were scattered a few groups of old people, women and children, who were exerting their feeble efforts in the fields by

the wayside; their cottages meanwhile tenantless but for the tutelary stork*, that, nestling on the chimney top, seemed to bewail the loneliness around. Filled with these dreary images, we drew near the border of a forest, where our attention was arrested by a monument erected to the memory of the late Queen. It was here, while on her journey, she was seized with that inflammatory complaint, whose violence baffled all attempts at relief, and in a few hours terminated her existence in a neighbouring cottage. During the present eventful epoch we needed not to call in aid the solemn character of this sequestered spot to heighten those impressions, chivalrous as well as melancholy, which a reflection upon the fate and virtues, the sad reverses and premature death of this beautiful and amiable princess, will never fail to excite in every honourable and feeling mind. We travelled through the gloomy forest in silence, and with sensations hardly to be exceeded by the gallantry and loyalty of a Prussian bosom.

The lone and fire-stained walls of Liebenburg exhibited again traces of the disastrous events of 1806: a few new-built houses seemed scarcely to raise their fronts, among the wide spread ruins of the village; and many a long year must elapse before this plain will recover its wonted face of cheerfulness. In the morning we arrived on the banks of the Havel at Oranienburg, once the residence of the Princes

* In these parts, as well as so many other countries, the villagers have a superstitious persuasion, that the stork is a bird of good omen: and under this idea, if he settles on their houses, they preserve him with religious care.

of Nassau-Usingen; but, feeling little inclination to halt while Berlin was within reach, we hastened on, and in a short time entered the long avenues that conduct to the city gates.

The old German mode of building, noticed in a former page, had for some time gradually disappeared from our road, giving way to an elegant ornamental style, formed with peculiar taste on the Italian models. In the first streets of Berlin we were particularly struck with some of the chastest and most elegant specimens of this character: each house was a model. Still as we proceeded, at every step we gazed with fresh delight, when the first opening of the Linden Strasse burst upon the view, eclipsing whatever we had hitherto seen, and presenting one of the finest architectural vistas in the world. On the right we looked down a splendid street, shaded with a double avenue of lime trees, to the majestic portals of Brandebourg; on the left to the royal palace, along a line of lofty façades ornamented with porticos, statues, and every variety of sculptural decoration. No imagination can conceive a scene, in the strict sense of the word, more beautiful than what is here presented.

The old town lies in the centre of the place, encircled by the branches of the Spree, that in earlier times formed the fosse of its fortifications. This part however possesses no great interest, except as giving specimens of the style previous to the æra of Frederic* II. in the palace and the arsenal; but they

* As several English authors have enumerated the Kings of Prussia in a different way, this may require explanation, the succession runs thus:—Frederic I, Frederic William I, Frederic II, Frederic William II, Frederic William III.

are far outshone by the elegant edifices erected in his or in the succeeding reigns, particularly the Italian Opera-house, the theatre and churches in the Place de Gens d'armes, the Brandenbourg gate, and the library built after a design by Frederic himself. This monarch indeed seems to have infused a new feeling of taste into the nation, and to have given not only a different face to the condition of the state, but to have produced a perfect revolution in the minds of his people, and well indeed would it have been if his spirit of theoretical improvement had been confined within these limits. An elegant and refined taste may be held by some superficialists to be of an exotic growth in a country situated in so northerly a latitude. However this be, it has attained here a degree of practical perfection, which in some respects is perhaps unrivalled.

We visited the several manufactories soon after our arrival, and saw more objects worthy of our admiration than the former accounts of travellers had given us occasion to expect. Their porcelain is infinitely superior in beauty to any which I have seen. The colours are dark and harmonious, the forms elegant and classical: in other branches, their articles of bronze, their carpets, their iron ware, as well as the dressing up of the shops themselves, displayed a discrimination and judgment in selection equally excellent, and such as may be called truly characteristic of Berlin.

The prevailing mode in furniture is no less correct in taste: the floors inlaid and ceilings painted, no addition seems wanting to complete the *tout ensemble* of ornamental

I. T. James del.t

PLACE DE GENS D'ARMES, BERLIN.

Etched by the Hon.ble Hy. Legge.

London, Published by I. Murray, Albemarle Street, 1816.

effect, yet no part is crowded to excess. Neither are they, in certain kinds of manufacture, deficient in technical skill. At the iron foundery they have acquired an art of casting small ware articles which, I believe, is peculiar to themselves; the medallions after the antique cameos and intaglios, the medals of Lord Wellington run upon an impression of the original cast at London in silver, as also the iron cross for the campaign of 1813, on which they were now employed, may be cited as fair examples; their sharpness and precision of form are equal to what might be effected in the most ductile metals: the work when finished is rubbed over with burnt porcelain earth, receiving a rich hue of jet, and for ornamental trinkets is generally set in silver or gold. It may be supposed that the practice of the founders, with regard to their superiority in this branch, is kept secret; but I have been told that the iron is fused with a small quantity of antimony, and the furnaces used for this purpose are small and low.

The manufactories of silk and cotton, which are chiefly in repute for the article of stockings, were in no great state of activity, owing to the war: one of the largest of these used to make on an average about 12,000 pair every year. The broad cloth, which before employed 1000, had now scarce 600 hands, though favoured by present circumstances more than almost any other establishment: they are supplied with fleeces of the finest quality from the Spanish breed of sheep in Silesia; and their best cloths, their kerseymeres, &c. are equal in appearance to those of England. In the course of

wear however, which is the surest test, their inferiority is soon detected, and a radical imperfection becomes apparent: this quality, as they seemed to think themselves, was not wholly unconnected with the disadvantage that attends the application of an horse power to their machinery; for the irregularity which is inseparable from the nature of its action as affecting the rate of work, cannot fail to produce a correspondent inequality in the preparation of the materials themselves. Their dyes, it may be added, are chiefly logwood, and can by no means enter into competition with the brilliancy and durability of the colours seen in the English and French cloths.

It is less than two centuries since certain parts of Germany supplied the world with those articles which at present form some of the most considerable branches of British exportation, and they are now able to undersell us, at least, if not to rival us, in specimens of metal manufacture. But there is a fashionable rage for articles of English workmanship in preference to all others; and since they certainly found no claim to this excellence in the beauty of their form or patterns, the great demand for them is to be attributed alone to their known character for solidity and strength. Of this superiority the long practised skill of our manufacturers is, no doubt, one cause; but other circumstances also contribute, and in scarcely a less degree; the powerful steady heat produced by a coal furnace, as preferable to that obtained from charcoal, where fusion is concerned; and the almost universal adoption of the steam engine, a con-

stant and evenly regulated power for the nice operations of machinery.

But as to this country, the state of Prussia, even in better times, shews that she is not yet in condition to supply herself with manufactures in general, much less to aim at obtaining the advantages to be derived from exportation. The workmen (who indeed are ordinarily said to be ill paid) cannot average a gain of more than two dollars per week, and a day labourer will earn at seven gr. per day nearly the same sum, or at least the difference is such as not to allow any great encouragement to an artisan: when the acquirements of skill are so poorly recompensed, undertakings of this nature cannot be expected to flourish to any extent.

Their mode of living is not attended with very heavy expense: the low charge for provisions, (wheaten bread being only at one-third of its price in England,) and the cheap and excellent pottage afforded by the most ordinary cooking shops, make their fare sumptuous, in comparison with that of an English workman. Their* lodging too, for no one occupies more than one flat or floor, costs but little; and thus it is that one sees mechanics and ar-

* The number of the inhabitants in Berlin was about 154,000, in 1811; 7625 Calvinists, 3236 Catholics, 3281 Jews: the body of the people are Lutherans.

Returns of births, deaths, and marriages.

	Marriages.	Births.	Deaths.	Among whom of the small-pox by infection.
A. D. 1810	1947	5738	5268	94
A. D. 1811	1812	5817	5642	4

tificers, of every description, inhabiting some of the fairest houses of the city.

We inspected the preparations in the theatre of anatomy, and the museum of natural history; as also a valuable collection of mineralogy, which has been lately enriched by the treasures of Humboldt. We were shewn, among others, a rock specimen (porphyry, containing small particles of hornblende,) taken from the highest point which he was able to reach on Chimboraco. This celebrated traveller had, with his characteristic spirit, refused this precious cabinet to the repeated solicitations of Buonaparte, who wished him to give it to the museum at Paris, though the restoration of his estates, which he had lost in the Prussian war, was proffered as a compensation for such a sacrifice of his beneficent intentions to his native country.

The royal college, or university, a large range of buildings, where most of the cabinets of science were placed, was at this day uninhabited: the students, to the number of 800, had volunteered their services at the first breaking out of the war; and some of the professors too had shewed a similar ardour, quitting their sedentary occupation for the fatigues of the field. Axtel, Amdt, Bernstein, Schleiermacher, are names that deserve ever to be recorded in the annals of patriotism—they were Prussians.

At the end of the street where this building stands is the Brandenburger Thör, a colossal structure, built after the model of the propylæa at Athens: its majestic and imposing front acquired additional dignity, at this un-

certain period, from the awful recollection which it seemed universally to excite in the minds of the beholders. It was from hence Napoleon's barbarous hand tore the car of Victory, that once graced the summit; and it was upon this spot that the tyrant displayed to an humiliated people all the pomp and pageantry that decked the proud march of the conquering legions of Jena.

The restoration of so sacred a monument to Berlin, in 1814, was accompanied with the most interesting ceremonies: it had been removed from the Place de Carousel at Paris, and being conveyed hither, was replaced in its former situation, but kept constantly concealed from sight by a covering of linen. On an appointed day, the king, accompanied by his chief officers and guards, entered in solemn procession, on his return from the war; as he passed under the gate, the veil of the chariot of Victory was lowered, and this trophy of Prussian valour again met the eye of the people. At this moment the peals of ordnance echoed through the air, the martial music struck up, and the loud acclamations of the crowd were raised with a din that overwhelmed every other demonstration of public joy.

Leaving this quarter, and skirting the park on the right, we arrived at the road to Potsdam, to which we were carried through an avenue of poplars, more than four German miles long, for in this fashion all the roads are ornamented to a certain distance. Potsdam is a little town of palaces, seated in a romantic situation on the banks of a small lake formed by the river Havel: every building or ornament of this fa-

voured region is the creation of Frederic II. Here any one that wished to settle had only to lay his foundation, and the king generally took upon himself the direction and charge of raising the superstructure. One man, in the Place de Guillaume, had his whimsical fancy gratified by the erection of a dwelling in the fashion of a convent; another, who was a Hollander, solicited a similar extension of the royal bounty: it was immediately promised. 'Ay,' said mynheer, 'but I want a Dutch house:' 'You shall have a dozen,' replied his majesty. It was done, and the astonished traveller lights upon a street of Amsterdam, in the Rue Hollandaise.

But the king, rather lavish than judicious in his plan, when he had erected these dwellings, was unable to provide the means of supporting such expensive establishments. The town, which enjoys no other trade than the demand and consumption which the residence of the court afforded, is now reduced to a miserable and impoverished state, and all its splendid mansions are verging fast to decay.

The charming retreat of Sans Souci consists of three separate pavilions, the first containing rooms of state, the second private apartments, and the third a picture gallery. We were shewn the apartments occupied by Voltaire during his visit to Prussia, and we listened with pleasure to a recapitulation within these walls of the well-known stories of the life of Frederic the Great, of his amusements, his reviews, his occupation at his dying hour, &c. The interest of the scene was much heightened by the enthusiastic man-

ner of the narrator, who had passed his earlier years in the service of that singular personage.

The gallery of paintings, although it had suffered from the rapacity of the French, yet contained some fine pictures, chiefly the works of Rubens, who was said to have formed this collection for the Elector of Brandenbourg, in part from those belonging to Charles I. of England. The sketch of Moses by Rembrandt, the Roman Filial Piety by Guercino, and the four Evangelists by Vandyke, as well as Venus attired by the Graces, and the Judgment of Paris, by the first-mentioned painter, are well worthy of observation. Of modern specimens it was not uninteresting to see the performances of the elèves of Frederic II. who endeavoured to promote the cultivation of this talent among his people, at a time, perhaps, premature: the examples were from the pencil of artists who had been sent to study at Rome, and, in point of brilliancy and harmony of colouring, deserved high encomium. As for any thing beyond these excellencies, we saw only rigid exactness, strict proportion of beauty, and the academical portraiture of the cold exterior, works of the hand alone, unenlivened, unimpassioned. Whether owing to any injudicious selection of persons that were ill suited to this object or not, I cannot say, but after all the Prussians are in this respect scarcely more unfortunate than many other nations their neighbours.

Besides three other royal seats in the environs, mention may be made of the Palais Royal and Palais Neuf, which rival each other in external magnitude and internal splen-

dour: all is marble, silver, gold; and the dimensions of the apartments are such, that the glare of these ornaments is quite lost in their vast extent, nothing remaining upon the mind but one general impression of magnificence. In front of the area before the Palais Neuf rises an open semicircular colonnade of the Corinthian order, with wings surmounted with lofty cupolas, and affording an example of unparalleled boldness of outline and elegance of design. This truly royal structure was built by the ostentation of Frederic II. after the close of the seven years war, and is a worthy memorial of such a triumph; but in its present neglected state, it stood as a melancholy, reproachful emblem of former greatness, and of the hopes of a nation that, till now, had seemed obscured for ever. The wild borderers of the Oural and the Don, riding at full speed through the desolate court, hurraing, firing pistols, hurtling their feathered arrows, or with their long spears tilting against the wind, formed a singular association with buildings that seemed to rival the proudest monuments of the Roman empire.

We visited a detachment of the Cossacks *en bivouac* (for they never receive billets of quarter) about a mile distant, and we understood there were some thousands dispersed in different parts of the neighbourhood: they all were full of life and spirits, some dressed in French jackets, others set off with Turkish belts and pistols, and scampering through the streets or over the fields, in all the rudeness of their mirth without order or restraint; the citizens greeting them

as they galloped past with an 'hurrah, Cossack!' while they grinned good humour in return. They appeared quite undisciplined, marauding and plundering wherever temptation offered, and from these habits were regarded by the common people as men that had, for their rank of life, considerable command of money. I once, indeed, happened to see a common Cossack enter a shop at Berlin, who ordered a silver chain to be made for him at the expense of upwards of 70 dollars; it was intended as a fancy ornament for his grotesque dress: neither was there any thing in the whim or the expense that was held at all extraordinary in such a character.

August 9.—At our return to Berlin, we found our inn surrounded by a prodigious crowd, that welcomed, with acclamations, the arrival of General Moreau on his way to the headquarters of the allies at Prague: he seemed cheerful, and spoke in conversation with the utmost confidence on the aspect of affairs, 'tout est assommé.' Various were the reports in circulation on the engagements of this *ci-devant* revolutionary general, being the second of that stamp who had ranged himself under the banners of the allies; but it is probable that arrangements had for some time been entered into with him on the part of the Emperor of Russia, as Colonel Rapatel, his former aid de camp and companion at Morrisville, was resident for several months during the preceding year at Petersburg. Of the sound and just intentions which he entertained no better testimony can be given than his own words; "je recevrai des remer-

cimens de la France et du monde entier. Pour renverser Buonaparte, peu importe la banniere pourvu qu'on reüssisse: si Robespierre avoit été tué par les royalistes, les republicains les en auroient remerciés vingt-quatre heures après."

We were much entertained with the behaviour of a Cossack, who had mixed accidentally with the admiring crowd: at hearing the name of a French general he grew extremely violent, and when told that the Frenchman would command Russian troops, became quite furious, venting his rage by the most wild and savage gestures and distortions. The parallel instance of Bernadotte would serve for nothing: the Prince of Sweden was a Swede; nor was it possible to quiet him, till a by-stander humorously asserted, that the father of Moreau was, he believed, a Muscovite.

Each day, as it came, brought some new topic of congratulation. Austria had joined the coalition, and people in general felt the strongest hope of ultimate success: yet such was the terror of Napoleon's name, that neither the triple alliance so happily formed, nor the assurance of the numerous forces that were assembled, could dissipate a sentiment of something more than anxiety for the future. Nor was this a feeling confined to the vulgar and uninformed, but extended to the highest classes of the community: even general officers of tried and well-known courage as his adversaries in the field, were often heard to declare they had felt themselves appalled when accidentally placed in the society of such a man; a man to whose genius all appeared to bow, and to whose destinies continued success seemed

to be indissolubly attached. In England he had created no inconsiderable sensation, but in Germany the universal feeling was of another description; he was dreaded as a demon rather than feared as a human being. One indeed there was, and one alone, of all those opposed to the French, who had uniformly foiled his arms in the course of a long protracted war, and for ever broken the magic spell of French invincibility. Our victories in Spain were here celebrated as if they had been their own; they became the chief theme of every gazette, and were made the ground of hope as well as of exultation. At the windows of every shop prints and medals of Wellington were proudly displayed, while his name was more frequent on the tongue of the people in Berlin than even in London itself; and these sentiments of admiration begot a kindred flame throughout the country, adding fresh nerve to every arm, and inspiring new vigour to every mind, till not a thought found place in a Prussian breast, nor aught but the hope of emulating the deeds of British heroism.

How different are the pictures of our imagination from the scenes that actually meet our eyes! Would it be possible to enliven the realms of fancy with a sight more cheering than that of a nation rising, as with one soul, to avenge their lost honour? Could we draw more lively portraits of Patriotism and Courage than appeared in the energies of these people? Yet what was, in reality, the aspect of Prussia? All trade, domestic as well as foreign, was completely at a stand; commercial confidence extinguished, under an apprehension

of the instability of affairs; heavy forced loans were levied on every individual; the plate of the palace melted down for the public exigencies; the government paper at a discount of three fourths of its value; the possession of land a burthen, from the heavy expenses which it entailed; the harvest rotting on the ground; immense foreign armies in the heart of the country; their chief fortresses still in possession of an enemy;—add to all this the anxieties of a people, whose fear of the future was built on a sad experience of the past, and some idea may be formed of the calamities that a nation must endure, while smarting under the scourge of such a war.

At length the days past away, that had allowed breathing time enough for any one to feel the full extent and pressure of his grievances: the armistice was at an end, and the fatal 16th arrived. The morning was ushered in by beating the generale, to keep the troops on the alert; and a cannonade in the night had spread an alarm of attack, from the side of Magdeburg. We saw large bodies of troops in motion upon every side: and on our road to Spandau, whither we had proposed an excursion for the day, we were informed that headquarters were suddenly shifted from Potsdam to Charlottenburg. A strong column of Swedes, fully equipped for the field, afforded ample compensation for the delay it occasioned us, defiling before our eyes, just as we reached the gates of the fortress.

Scarce two months now had passed since this place, then in the occupation of a French garrison, had been bombarded

by the Prussian forces, and one quarter of the town, in which the magazines had attracted the fire of the besiegers, presented a scene of devastation truly horrible. The ramparts of the citadel, which had been partly destroyed, were under repair; they advanced, as may be supposed, very slowly, for want of hands, and a number of women were exerting themselves in the task with the greatest alacrity.

A considerable portion of the laborious duties, however, of every description falls to the lot of the female sex, and it may be said that this was no more than the custom of Germany: but their exertions were far from being confined within ordinary limits; they partook of the general feeling, and in the love of their country forgot themselves. One trait of patriotism in the sex well deserves to be recorded: the house of a poor woman having caught fire from the Prussian bombs, her neighbours gathered around her in haste, and endeavoured with officious earnestness to extinguish the flames. Hold, said she, my friends, do you not see our countrymen have set it on fire themselves? do you not understand that, if they cannot enjoy the town, at least the French shall not? let it burn, let it burn!—Rastopchin himself could have done no more.

It seemed as if there were no exertions which the Prussians were not willing to make, no example of national devotion they were not capable of emulating, from the first moment that the decision of their king allowed free vent for the development of their feelings.

General Thumen was the officer in command of the

Prussian troops employed at this siege, and had well calculated the value of the sacrifice he was about to make. His conduct was much disapproved of in a high quarter; but the energy and decision of this veteran, though unauthorised, ensured the adoption of such measures as the necessity of the case required. What indeed would have been the situation of the country at this moment, had the French still retained possession of Spandau, commanding both banks of the Spree, while Oudinot, with a powerful army from the south, was marching upon Berlin? How discouraging a chill might have been thrown upon the ardour of the nation, by the first successful blow of the enemy? What seeds of future ruin to the cause might have been engendered by the operation of such a 'fond and foolish' course of policy?

On our return from this place, at a late hour, every thing bore the face of warlike preparation: the villagers were provided with beacons to be fired as signal of the enemy's approach; the works of defence made by the citizens on the road were complete; night patroles were every where stationed at intervals; the fires of the picquets seemed to encircle the town, and the streets and walks began to swarm with the numbers of the combined army of the north of Germany, which was before heard of only as a name.

On the 18th we visited their cantonments at Charlottenburg, where the Crown Prince of Sweden had taken up his residence, and were presented to his royal highness by Mr. Thornton, the English minister to the court

of Sweden. His countenance (for every trait of so noted a character bears an interest) was one of extreme penetration, joined to a prepossessing appearance of great affability; his manner was equally pleasing and courteous, but we had not much opportunity offered us of making remarks, for scarcely had he prefaced his compliments with his usual *adieu* (a provincialism in the south of France), when General Adlercreutz came up with letters; on which he immediately retired from the levee. Among other persons of note we observed Sir F. D'Ivernois, Field Marshal Count Stedink of the Swedish, and General Pozzo de Borgo of the Russian service, a name of which the real friends of the good cause cannot speak too highly.

It was a fine evening, and we strolled to the Swedish camp, though it scarcely merited that appellation, when hardly five tents to a battalion were seen in the whole range. The troops were scattered over some extensive fields behind the royal palace, and their bustling groups brought forcibly to mind the lively scenes of Wouwermans. The Princesses Wilhelm and Louisa passing just at this moment with their equipages through the plain, each regiment formed as they approached, and saluted them with loud cheers, that evinced at once the enthusiasm and the gallantry of the native Scandinavians.

——— ladies, whose bright eyes
Rain influence, and judge the prize
Of wit or arms, while all contend
To win her grace whom all commend.

These hardy sons of the north had themselves received but a scanty welcome: though large magazines were formed at Berlin, it was with the utmost difficulty that the commissary could obtain the necessary supplies; and one regiment which we saw had remained two days since their arrival at Charlottenburg without having any rations distributed to them; yet no reason, even of a plausible nature, could be alleged for husbanding these resources on the present occasion; and the fatal example of Austerlitz, where similar neglect or misconduct led to that sanguinary engagement which overthrew the empire of Germany, was yet fresh in the recollection of every one.

The Swedes are of a bold, stout make, though not, as the phrase is, well set up; nor have they altogether that *tenu militaire* which is so much cultivated in the German and English discipline: but they have other excellent qualities; they are obedient, patient, brave, active, and of a tranquil modest demeanour. So strikingly remarkable is this last trait in the most ordinary concerns, that a German (whose notions of breeding had been formed in the French school) complained to me of the humility of these fellows, who entered a liquor-shop with caps off, and their money in their hands, bowing in a mute and quiet manner, 'totally unbecoming,' said he, 'the mien and character of a man of arms.'

The Russians seemed in general straight, broad-shouldered men, of a middle stature, carrying in every point the most soldierlike aspect, and formed with every mechanical requisite which an officer could desire; steady in the field, tractable in the camp, and, if only furnished with bread and

brandy, at all times prepared for the most arduous duties of the campaign. Their artillery, like that of the Swedes, was admirable, and the corps appeared ill appointed only in one particular, namely the surgical department, which, as usual in their service, was extremely deficient.

The Prussians were worthy of the name of Frederic II. as they have since so often shewn; but they had experienced great difficulties and disadvantages in the formation of their army, from the limitations imposed on them by the treaty of Tilsit. They were obliged to organise their force secretly, by frequent substitution of fresh recruits in their several standing corps, and by other steps of this sort. Near 150,000 men were however now embodied, besides an equal number of landwehr, &c. and the exercises were carried on from morning till night in every space of open ground in or near the metropolis. Many of the latter had been fully trained and sent into the field; it was, indeed, an affecting spectacle to see one of these battalions, unaccompanied by the enlivening insignia of military pomp, their mothers, daughters, sisters, wives, weeping in the ranks, as they marched from the city gates for the camp. As troops, however, they had exerted themselves to the utmost, and were brought to a state of discipline and efficiency highly creditable, considering the very short time they had been under arms.

The landsturm too was trained on stated days in each week to the use of the pike: this levy *en masse* included all men in any way fit for service that were not otherwise en-

rolled. In the towns, to prevent the total stagnation of trade, the sweeping conditions of the act for raising the landwehr were relaxed, and the landsturm was composed of a numerous body of able and active men; but, in the country, only those between the ages of forty and sixty remained to be exercised in this class.

August 20.—The army now had begun to concentrate itself; the Russians were established near Spandau, the Swedes at head-quarters, and the Prussians on the high ground to the south of the capital, with detached corps under Tauenzien and Bülow, in advance near Müncheburg. As to the other parts of the district placed under the command of the Crown Prince, a strong body was employed to observe Magdeburg, while General Walmoden, with the Anglo-Russian divisions, watched the movements of Davoust in the north.

Such were the general dispositions, but the eye of every one was now turned to Berlin. It was generally believed that the attention of the enemy was drawn to this point, and that Buonaparte had passed to the north bank of the Elbe, with a view to direct the operations in person. For the purpose of ascertaining however the movements of the enemy, a strong reconnoissance was made to the south, and again to the south-east, and they were reported to be concentrating their forces near Bayreuth and Luckau; it was therefore easy to surmise their intentions. General Chernichef was detached to act on their left, and another light corps on their right flank, more effectually to conceal the

intended movements of the main body of the allies, while a corps of observation was kept in perpetual motion in their front.

On the 22d of August, the utmost consternation prevailed at Berlin; Oudinot, with 80,000 men, had advanced within ten English miles of the gates. The regiments on duty had been marched off by beat of drum during the night, and at break of day the roads and avenues to the town were blocked up with the crowds that were pressing within the walls to seek an asylum; carts bringing in from the army the wounded, dying and dead; peasants flying from the neighbouring villages with their wives, their children, their bedding, and whatever moveables they were able to save from impending ruin. An anxious crowd of citizens awaited them in the streets, that pouring in from every quarter, wandered about in uncertainty, half amazed, half appalled, each one seeming to dread the solitude of his own home. Meanwhile a thousand stories inundated the town: our commander in chief was a Frenchman—every manœuvre was a measure preparatory to a retreat—our left flank was turned, and the north of the city totally defenceless—Buonaparte had directed his whole strength upon Berlin—the armies of the south were deceived in their calculation—the enemy desperate—our allies uncertain. But these were told only as transient rumours: order was observed, and no idle or factious people sought to profit by the public consternation.

Towards evening, a cannonade was heard in the distance, announcing the approach of the enemy: the hills

near the Halle gate, as we rode out, were covered with a throng of people, some conveying ammunition or food, others labouring hard at the redoubts, others again traversing with painful curiosity the vast plain that stretched below, chequered as it was with the wreck of burning villages, and the clouds of dust and smoke that rose from the armies.

August 23.—Having packed up our baggage ready to set off at a moment's warning in case of a reverse, we procured saddle horses, and started at three in the morning for the fields where we understood the positions were taken up. We arrived just as the Swedes had finished their morning hymn: the ground they had quitted was scattered with the comfortless remains of the bivouac, boughs of trees, shutters and doors taken from the neighbouring cottages, or whatever might shield them from the heavy rain of the night; beyond, a magnificent spectacle presented itself; the sky was gloomy, but the sun had just risen, and exhibited the whole army drawn up in battle array, their long lines stretching to the horizon. The Swedes, 30,000 strong, under the Crown Prince, occupied some rising grounds in the centre, above the village of Ruhlsdorf; the Russians, about 25,000, under Winzingerode, formed the right wing; and the Prussians, mustering an equal force under Bulow, were drawn up in a plain on the left; their flank rested on the village of Klein-Beeren, and was secured by a small knoll crowned with a battery of field-pieces; still further on the left, Tauenzien, with his corps, occupied the hamlet Blank-

enfelde, and a pulk of Cossacks were hovering about in the interval: in front of the positions rose some extensive woods, which concealed the columns of the French army.

In company with another friend, I rode along part of the lines, which reached upwards of six English miles in extent, and then returned to our station on the left, where the attack was expected to take place: our little reconnoissance was followed, in spite of our national cockades, with an arrest by the officer in command of the cavalry, and we were sent under guard to General Bulow; to him, however, we had the honour and good fortune to be personally known; but in these suspicious times accidents of this kind were of not unfrequent occurrence. At nine o'clock a cannonade on the advanced posts commenced on this side, which continued about half an hour. At ten Tauenzien's corps seemed to be threatened by the movements of the enemy: Bulow then detached himself from the centre, and took up another position still farther on the left, and successively a third in the rear of Blankenfelde, at the distance of about half a German mile from the Crown Prince, leaving a few companies of jagers, with a battery of field pieces, on the knoll before mentioned, in order to protect his communications.

This was an interesting moment: the French were already engaged in skirmish, and the heads of the columns expected every instant to debouch from the woods; yet no anxious silence prevailed, no awful, death-like pause—all wore the appearance of mirth and gaiety; the troops cheered as they

fell in, and ran up where the distance of the files had relaxed, with the most enlivening alacrity. After waiting here during two hours in a heavy rain, advice was brought that the picquets at Gros-Beeren had been driven in, and that the enemy were seen advancing in that direction. This village was situated on the left of the centre, and about an English mile distant. The object of their movement was sufficiently evident: General Bulow retraced his steps, and marched thither without loss of time. The enemy were discovered, in force about 15,000, drawn up across an open space between the forests; their right was *appuyed* on the village of Gross-Beeren, and strengthened by a strong battery, concealed from sight, behind a grove of firs; their left was posted on a gentle slope, secured by the woods on their flank. As our troops advanced, General Vorstell was detached with a small division to act upon their right, and the main body formed, under cover of the artillery, in three divisions of two lines each, the battalions being drawn up in masses. The heavy rain that fell rendered the musketry of little effect, but the first division advancing, undaunted by the fire of the battery which was directed against them, stormed the village of Gross-Beeren with the utmost gallantry at the point of the bayonet: this advantage was instantly followed up by a well-timed charge from the cavalry; the remainder of the French line then began to waver, and as the two other divisions were coming up, the cavalry on the right charged in their turn, and the field was in an instant covered with the bodies of the slain.

As to other parts of the position, our centre had been threatened, and the Swedish picquets in front of Rühlsdorf were driven in; but the fire of the artillery soon checked the advance of the enemy.

Tauenzien met with similar success in repulsing an attack upon his position, which took place somewhat later in the evening: 14 cannon, upwards of 60 ammunition waggons, 1500 prisoners, were the fruits of the day; and this victory was succeeded by the repulse of Girard's division from Magdeburg, which ought to have co-operated with the army of Oudinot. These were great advantages; but what was of still more consequence, the feelings of the Prussians were invigorated by the auspicious event of their first struggle at the opening of the new campaign, and their capital was, by the exertions of its native heroes, again placed in a state of tranquillity. Bulow followed up his victory, and continued a brisk pursuit during the night, driving the broken and dispirited divisions of the French before him to Luckau, the first place at which they were able to make head against their pursuers.

On the following day we revisited the field of battle, and spread among the soldiers the news of the victory gained over the French army in the Pyrenees; for Lord Aberdeen, on his way to Vienna, had brought the agreeable intelligence on the preceding day: it was received with enthusiasm, and every regiment hailed the Britons, as they passed the countrymen of Wellington.

Our return lay through the ground occupied by the

Swedes, and as both officers and men were now removed at a distance from Berlin, they were extremely glad to have any conversation with persons who might bring them news.

The Crown Prince possesses, it seems, a wonderful talent of conciliating the affections of his men; he was as much beloved by his present army as he was said formerly to have been by the corps which he commanded in France. The first two French prisoners taken had formerly served under his orders: he sent for them, restored them their arms, gave them food and money, and dismissed them without delay, bidding them spread the report among his companions that Bernadotte was there: "ils ont versé," says the bulletin, "des larmes de joie en revoyant leur ancien general."

A score of Cossacks, who had distinguished themselves the day before in skirmishing, were ordered up during our stay to receive some mark of their commander's approbation: he complimented them very highly, and gave them each a Louis d'or with his own hand. Hardly had they departed when the physician in chief of the French, one of their prisoners, arrived: he was stripped even to his dirty shirt, and his nakedness scarce covered with the remnant of a pair of tattered trowsers. A greasy Cossack cap, in exchange for his own, had been added to ornament his droll figure, which excited a burst of laughter from the whole suite.

The Cossacks do not, however, always confine themselves to such venial acts of piracy, but carry to a complete system the irregularities that ordinarily proceed from the

lawlessness of war. At one of the villages which we passed the people were in strange confusion; the men had armed themselves with their pikes, and were hastening to assault a party of eight or ten of these freebooters who had entered their dwellings a short time before, and having tied the hands of those whom they found at home, plundered and pillaged without reserve; carrying away every thing even to the forage that had been provided by the peasants on requisition for the Russian cavalry. The arrival of a Cossack officer quieted the fray: he seemed enraged, and reprobated their conduct both by words and gesture; after this they all rode away together. We had some conversation with one of these singular beings on our road to the city: he was (as they all are) of an interesting countenance, possessed of great natural quickness of mind and acuteness of observation: he talked German tolerably well, and discovered in his way considerable knowledge of the affairs of the late extensive campaign, even of those actions where he had not been personally concerned, being evidently much delighted to give his opinion on marches and counter-marches, plans and battles. On quitting us, he "threw his flight in "many an airy wheel," casting himself as he couched his spear above or below the horse's neck, sometimes on the right, at others on the left, with surprising adroitness and dexterity. This race, in fact, pass their whole lives on horseback; and though their forward seat seems to an Englishman rather awkward, yet they possess a thorough command of the animal, and are, in fact, Centaur-like, identified

with the beast itself. They acquire too, from their mode of living, a sort of sagacity, bordering on instinct, that almost exceeds belief. Place a Cossack with his ear to the ground, he will tell you the numbers of a distant cavalcade. Make him your guide to any remote spot at night, and he will read his way in the stars, and give a thousand other marks of that species of cunning for which savage nations, unused to occupy themselves with other food for their thoughts, are universally so remarkable. War upon the French is as popular with them as a party to the chase, far different in their estimation from the service they undergo in fighting against the Turks, where their superior skill in skirmish is of little avail, the horses of the enemy being equally strong and active, the men equally expert in single combat with themselves, and able to cope with them at all points. From hence we may form some idea of the nature of their operations in general: invaluable as scouts, or as partisans, their imperfect order and discipline renders them incapable of making a charge on troops of the line; yet, with the assistance of their flying artillery (for a Cossack will accomplish in his own fashion the most scientific duties of the field) they have performed achievements that seemed far beyond their power and means. If they succeed in throwing the enemy into confusion by the fire of these pieces, they rush in upon the broken ranks, and cause prodigious slaughter; if not, they will withdraw themselves from any untoward circumstances their advance may have entangled them in, with half the loss a regular regiment

would have sustained in a similar situation. Several scenes of their exploits, during the preceding months, were pointed out to us in the environs of Berlin.

Some of these Cossacks, or Bashkirs, were, from their dexterity, appointed to train the cavalry recruits in the use of the lance, since there were two or three regiments so armed in the Prussian corps. The weapon is poised in the right hand, and being struck on the hip, is whirled round over head with the impulse, and the point brought on either side, before or behind, as occasion may require: several other motions were added, but this seemed the foundation of the exercise, and to give the greatest facility in handling the lance.

As to the habits of thievery of which these troops are so universally accused;—it is but fair to say, that a large proportion of the number are not of the native Cossack tribes: but a vast body of Russians, men of the lowest description, were inrolled under this name, being armed and mounted in a similar way, and employed in the same duties, for which indeed alone they seemed to be in any way fitted. Though the real Cossacks have a happy turn for predatory excursions, it is unfair to involve them in the general censure that follows the actions of these vagabonds.

On the 27th the Russian and Prussian corps had both quitted their positions, and we found the Swedes breaking up and commencing their march. The infantry formed two columns of about 12,000 men each; the cavalry again in two columns, and the artillery, caissons, &c. made up a

fifth. From the hill above Teltow the sight was of a very imposing nature; these long lines, attended by the suite of the Crown Prince, appeared, directing their march in parallel directions over a vast plain, which was unobstructed by hill or dale, and permitted the spectator's eye to follow them till they were actually lost in the distance. In the course of the week a deputation from the bourgeoisie had waited on the Crown Prince to thank him for having averted the storm that threatened their city. He replied, he had as yet accomplished nothing that deserved their expressions of gratitude. "I know," said he, "I have much to do; I "have set myself to the task, and when I see your king "placed in the same situation as before the war, then, "and not till then, can I receive your thanks." The deputies returned highly gratified with their reception; and though the Gascon style of the second bulletin was not at all understood, though their German phlegm could not comprehend how he should predict that the landwehr of Mecklenburg should throw themselves upon the French parks of artillery, or the landsturm cover themselves with glory, yet they felt a sincere gratitude for what he had already effected, and which certainly had not been prophesied from any quarter.

It was a curious circumstance, very characteristic of French vanity and assurance, that upwards of 150 letters were about this time received at the post-office, addressed to officers of the French army, whom their friends (in consequence of Buonaparte's proclamation) supposed to be

now enjoying themselves at Berlin: they contained many remembrances and expressions of affection from officers to their female acquaintances of the preceding year, who would for once have been better pleased to have been passed unnoticed, since several unexpected disclosures occurred, that were the source of infinite raillery and scandal in the town.

Aug. 29.—On Sunday the minister at the French church took occasion, in the course of his sermon, to compare the state of the city at that moment with the hideous consternation that had prevailed seven days before; he painted the contrast with much feeling and animation, many of the audience seeming affected even to tears. These worthy citizens of Berlin merited all the success that human assiduity could claim: if the men had exerted their utmost, the female sex were not inferior either in activity or inclination. The same ladies who had before given their jewels as contributions to the state, afforded, in the present exigency, a still more kind assistance; every house provided with means of accommodation became a gratuitous hospital for the reception of sick or wounded men: as for society, no topic of conversation was ever heard but the war, and to make lint or bandages were the employments that took place of the usual amusements of an evening party. The Princess William and Princess Louisa, foremost in every act of patriotic virtue, provided for near thirty soldiers in their own houses: besides this, in order that single ladies might share this general work of charity, a

subscription hospital was established by them in the Frederick Strasse, capable of containing 100 patients; where tender and elegant forms were seen daily nursing in turns, and serving at the bedside amidst groans and scenes of anguish more distressing to a mind of sensibility than all the pictured horrors of the field.

It so happened at this time, that nearly the whole number of officers there received were volunteers serving in the army at their own expense: accidental this, it is true, yet it was an accident that could not have taken place under any other times or in any other situation. There were numerous regiments of volunteers who had now taken the field: a corps of cavalry of this description, 450 strong, had marched from the city about a fortnight before; there were two companies of chasseurs from Swedish Pomerania, who had the honour of acting as guard to their prince: and among many others we had frequently heard mention of Lützow's free corps, Schill's corps, and a strong battalion of Mecklenburghers, who were now serving in the north on the same conditions. Of the bourgeois, whose professional avocations precluded them from active service, there were, it may be added, 15,000 armed and equipped at their own charge, now doing duty at Berlin; and besides them, the train-band corps which were generally established throughout the kingdom, were numerous enough to relieve the regular troops almost every where from their stations in the towns. Those again who were incapable of such exertions strained every nerve to compensate in other

ways for their personal inabilities: they sent contributions to the Hotel de Ville of whatever they thought most appropriate for the use of the army and hospitals: blankets, matrasses, shirts, shoes, &c. or as their several circumstances would admit, daily portions of bread, meat, biscuit, wine, &c. Indeed, the Swedish corps up to this time had scarcely received any rations but from this irregular deposit, which was, by its nature, exposed to depredation, and, as may be supposed, fell far short of the aggregate amount that the liberality of individuals had designed. The detection of this abuse alone operated as a check to that sentiment of universal enthusiasm which pervaded all ranks and all conditions of the inhabitants of the Prussian metropolis.

In the mean while the redoubts and other works on the roads of approach from the south were carried on with the greatest industry: the citizens laboured in rotation, each single person, or chief of a family, taking his turn once a week; for Berlin was defenceless, being only surrounded with a brick wall, built to prevent the evasion of the excise laws. By these means two strong forts were erected on the rising ground fronting the Halle gate; and on the Potsdam road some lesser works to defend the passage of a branch of the Spree. They consisted of a platform for one gun in the centre, flanked by two demi-bastions; the whole rivetted with turf, and constructed under the eye of the royal engineers in an excellent style.

This appearance of spirit and ardour in the people might

easily be contrasted with the feelings that prevailed on the opposite side. The materials of the French army appeared by the prisoners to be of the most heterogeneous composition; Italians, Saxons, Dutch, Spaniards, Bavarians, Wirtemburghers, Portuguese; conscripts, or allies. Some even of the national guards had been inveigled to the field; for the difficulty of finding men, both in France and in all parts subject to her influence, had daily increased during the last two months; all prices, from 1000 to 10,000 dollars, were offered for substitutes, and, in many places, without success.

It was impossible not to feel some compassion for these poor victims, large bodies of whom we saw hurried along to prison in their feeble state, footsore, worn down with fatigue, and the unsatisfied hunger of two days or more: amongst them were a few French boys scarcely 17 years of age, that seemed ready to drop from faintness by the roadside. Hated as they were, the women of Berlin would frequently stop to throw small pieces of money into the miserable group as they passed, and then slink away as if ashamed of having been betrayed by their feelings to such an act of charity. To describe the interior of the places of confinement, where numbers lay with their mangled limbs extended on the floor, crying out for surgical aid, that was now so difficult to be procured, would be a painful task; and I feel neither ability nor inclination to undertake it.

It was curious to observe, at this epoch, the fluctuations of the exchange upon England; during the moment of alarm, it rose from four dollars* to near five, and in a few days returned to its former price. Gold in the same way, from the increase of demand, was proportionably augmented in value, to the no small surprise of a foreigner, who on changing a ducat or Louis d'or in the shops, gained a sixth more than he had been in the habit of receiving. The chief management of money transactions is here in the hands of the Jews; this science, indeed, so inexplicable in some of its branches, seems to form their true cabbala. From the dark ages to the present day, these people have always been foremost in the knowledge requisite for such pursuits, the ablest conductors of negociations of barter then, as in exchange of money now, or the highest and most lucrative species of commerce. Being as it were but one family, scattered through various countries, at the same time precluded from the acquirement of real property in many, they were compelled to apply themselves to these objects, in which their habits of mutual intercourse and connexion gave them greater facilities than were possessed by the resident natives.

There are few places where their useful qualities have

* Exchange at par is six dollars, 16 groschen, for 1*l.* sterling. The currency was chiefly silver coin, as gold was not very abundant; the smaller pieces were of six or twelve groschen, of silver much alloyed: 24 gr. = 1 dollar or 3s. English.

The coinage of the neighbouring states circulated without difficulty, as generally the case in Germany.

Prices.—Day labour, in ordinary times, six to eight groschen; at this time ten.

secured them a better reception than at Berlin, where Frederic II. the protector of all strangers, permitted them to become proprietors of land. The colony of the Jews is the largest foreign establishment in the city; there is one also of the Bohemians, and another of the French, neither inconsiderable in size, nor unserviceable in their example and industry to the population and wealth of the place: the latter are the descendants of those refugees who fled from France at the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, when emigrations took place to so many other countries, some remains of which may still be traced at London, in the neighbourhood of Soho.

To suffer an occasional act of *ejectment* is one of the most ordinary calamities to which those are subject who are involved in the ever-changing circle of French politics. It was shortly after the affair of Gros-Beeren, that a noble emigrè, the reigning Duke of Oldenburg, arrived at Berlin, driven from his territorial possessions by the forcible occupation of the French army. Prince Paul of Wirtemberg also sought shelter here, from circumstances that may be attributed to the same origin; he was, however, a voluntary exile, having, much to his honour, at this early period of the war, embraced a line of politics in direct opposition to the conduct pursued by the court of Stutgard.

August 30.—To balance the unwelcome intelligence of Davoust's advance to the neighbourhood of Rostock, we were told that the allies in the south had debouched from the defiles of Bohemia, and were marching in great

force on Dresden, whither Buonaparte had retired. Information too was, at the same time, received of General Blucher's good fortune in Silesia, followed by great successes on the Katsbach, where upwards of 10,000 of Macdonald's corps were made prisoners; a triumphant exploit, such as might have been expected, from the ardour and activity of this veteran warrior, united with the distinguished talents of General Gneisenau.

The gallant Blucher was the idol of the whole army, and now the more held up to their notice, as having been the constant mark of the persecuting and vindictive spirit of Buonaparte: he was ever adverse to the insidious schemes of France in peace as in war, and having refused to accept a command in one of his expeditions, the ignoble upstart had the meanness to demand that Blucher should be dismissed from the post with which the king had rewarded his long-tried fidelity. The affection borne him by the soldiery was eminently conspicuous in the late affair: the same rains that swelled the stream of the Katsbach had rendered the roads almost impassable, and some battalions, exhausted by the fatigue of their long marches, halted, declaring themselves unable to proceed farther. Blucher rode up to address them, "Are you wearied, my children," said he, "Are you drenched with rain? Are you pressed by hunger? "And am not I, in my old age, subjected to all these suf- "ferings alike with every man amongst you? But the ene- "mies of my king are in the land, and I have sworn to take "no rest—follow me." They instantly rose as if his words

had wrought a miracle on their jaded bodies; they continued their march without a murmur, nor rested till they reposed on the field of victory.

The hopes of the people began to rise at this moment, and the turn of circumstances in general seemed to flatter their best wishes; yet still the name of Napoleon was a fearful sound, and rarely was it pronounced without some expressions escaping of fear and solicitude. Several political publications had been written, and sent forth with a view to animate the public. *Das neue Deutchland*, (Germany renewed) *Reden an der Deutscher Nation*, and many other works of similar descriptions. Gazettes also were frequently circulated, composed in a style of narrative, that might strike and catch the feelings of the lower classes; they contained remonstrances against suffering "the strong man to enter "your house and take your chattels"—dialogues between a courier and a loyal village bailiff, on the news of the day; representations of the late British victories in Spain, &c. in one of which it was positively averred that the French had lost 15,000 men, while the brave Britons had but one single horse slightly wounded *(nur einziges Englische pferd leicht blessirt)*: some puns too were occasionally introduced on this topic, and the enemy retreating in the neighbourhood, were said to be struck with panic, (*panisch*) or Spanish (*Spanisch*) fear.

Sept. 1.—Rumours from Dresden, imaginary, or real, now became frequent: one reported Buonaparte a prisoner, another Dresden taken, another on fire; but no person

was, for some time, aware of the sad reverse that had occurred; the allies had been repulsed in their attacks upon the outworks with the greatest loss, and were flying to shelter themselves in the mountains of Bohemia. Their advance was precipitate, their retreat headlong and without order, and the cause in general seemed to have received a fatal stroke from the misfortune of General Moreau. Having ventured with the Emperor of Russia, and some of the staff, in front of one of the batteries of the allies, against which the fire of the enemy was directed, and being about half his horse's length in advance of the party, he was struck on the thigh; the ball passed through the body of his horse, and dreadfully shattered the other leg, driving him with violence to the ground. From the heavy rains that were falling, he was taken up so covered with mud, that one could scarce distinguish the blood issuing from his limb, which only appeared attached by a few lacerated sinews to his body. Immediate assistance was given, and four Cossacks of the imperial guard made a litter with their pikes, and conveyed him in this miserable plight to Dippoldiswalde; thence, as the French troops were advancing, he was carried to Laun, where Sir J. Wylie (of the emperor's household) proceeded to the amputation of the thigh. Moreau called for a *cigare*, and submitted, without a word. This done, the surgeon informed him it would be also necessary to take off the remaining leg. He was silent for a minute—"Well," said he, "Do your duty; "had you told me before that this would be absolutely re-

" quisite, I would not have submitted to the former opera-
" tion. I hope, however, I have too much sense of religion
" still left to permit me to think of what would amount
" to an act of suicide." The issue of this disastrous event is too fresh in the recollection of all to make it necessary to enter into its details. It was fated that we should be deprived, at a most critical period, of those powerful talents, which, when employed against us, had so often before commanded success. The supporters of the great cause were amazed and confounded; Justice herself was arraigned; the impiety of Napoleon was roused into exultation. But the great Disposer of all events, whose views are unlimited as his means, had ordained these things in a different manner, and, no doubt, in a way far more compatible with the general interests of mankind. Still, however, we must feel for the individual; and every friend of integrity, constancy, and public virtue will shed a tear for the fall of so great a man.

Among other opinions of Moreau, for now every word he had uttered was carefully treasured up, his last advice to the King of Prussia is on record: it was a recommendation that he should act with more reliance on his own judgment in the conduct of military affairs, in which he had frequently given proofs of that talent which is sometimes accompanied by an amiable but injurious diffidence of mind. Buonaparte himself, from what is said to have fallen from him, had lately made a similar estimate of his merits. It is worth while to place in opposition to this fact, an anecdote that

displays the contemptuous light in which he had formerly affected to regard him. At a conversation during an interview appointed by him with his majesty and the Emperor of Russia, he addressed, by way of compliment, some few questions relative to military matters to the emperor, such as in what time a certain regiment of his hussars could charge over so much ground? and so on; then turning suddenly to the king, "And how many buttons," said he, "do your good men wear on their pantaloons, and how "many on their skirts behind?"

Moreau's favourable opinion was shortly after justified by the signal victory of Toplitz, which may be attributed as much to the judgment of the King of Prussia, as to the talents and intrepidity of Ostermann; and it proved a fair retort in the field to the insulting conduct of which Buonaparte had formerly been guilty towards a fallen enemy.

While the citizens of Berlin indulged themselves in all the expressions of joy that so important an event might be supposed to communicate, they were little aware of the storm that was gathering, and the new dangers with which they were menaced. Burning with rage at the failure of Oudinot, Buonaparte ordered Marshal Ney to make another attempt to gain possession of the place, and strengthened him with large reinforcements. The firmness of Tauenzien and Bülow in maintaining their positions at Juterboch, together with the prompt dispositions of the Crown Prince,

saved the city a second time from the fury of its inveterate enemy; and the Prussians, ever indefatigable, added new laurels to their brows.

A bulletin, announcing these tidings, was read from the stage at the German theatre to a crowded audience: the actors were engaged in the representation of some common-place story of dramatic love, when a stranger stepped forward with a paper in his hand. The performance was instantly stopped; *lesen, lesen,* resounded from every part of the house, and each sentence, as it was read, was rapturously echoed with shouts of applause.

A fresh subject of congratulation soon after occurred; upwards of 3000 Saxons, who had come over to the Prussians during the action, marched into Berlin the next day, with looks that seemed to anticipate the goodwill of the people, and to claim from them a reception as friends. Considering the national antipathy that so long subsisted between these two countries, fostered by the usual jealousies of neighbouring states, and by the bitter feelings that still rankled in their hearts from the former aggressions of Prussia, this must be viewed as no ordinary proof of the influence of public sentiment in favour of the allied cause.

The pilfering Cossacks again made their appearance before we left Berlin; they were charged with the care of the artillery, that, with 18,000 prisoners, was the reward of that victory, and ordered to convey it to the royal arsenal. This escort excited on their arrival much surprise

among the citizens, by the additional articles of booty which they produced and offered to sale in the open streets; bed-curtains, pans, cooking utensils, &c. and many things of this sort for a few groschen each, or any price that the bystanders would give. These circumstances being suspicious, an inquiry was set on foot, when it appeared that they had employed themselves on their route by pillaging the cottages near the road; wishing to do something on their own account, lest, when accompanying a public prize from the enemy, they should come to town themselves empty handed: but proper representations being made, they were all severely knouted on the morrow.

September 12.—A Te Deum was sung in the churches in the morning of this day, being Sunday, and according to the custom of the country an Italian opera was given in the evening in honour of the great victory. After these ceremonies, we left Berlin for the north.

It may be here allowed, perhaps, to take some slight review of a country that has lately made so distinguished a figure, and now holds so high a rank among the nations of Europe. From the time that the Grand Master Albert united in his person the marquisate of Brandenburg to the fiefs of Prussia till the self-erected kingdom was announced to the world in 1701, is a period of about 175 years: a few years after this epoch, Frederic II. was seated on the throne.

The continued exertions of great and wise sovereigns, followed by the achievements of this extraordinary monarch, raised the country from the barbarous condition in which

she languished at the middle of the 17th century, to a degree of activity and power that proves a memorable example of what political science is able to effect in the moral world.

The times that succeed are not of so pleasing an aspect. The treaty formed by Prussia in 1793, and her neutrality in the war that subsequently broke out, gained her no favour on the part of France, and her treacherous vacillation was visited upon her by the same arm that she had helped to raise. Whether jealousy of Austria, or a wish still farther to increase the unjust acquisitions of Frederic II. were her motives, it is not now to determine; her late conduct has obliterated in every mind the wish to enter into a reproachful investigation of past events. Prussia, at the end of the above-mentioned war, was curtailed of one half of her dominions and population, reduced to the rank of a second-rate power of Germany, subjected to the privations of the continental system, and to the insults of French commissioners sent to execute its decrees. She was drained of men and money by her imperious conqueror; and yet to complete her humiliation, the year 1812 saw the governor of Berlin, and his commandant d'armes, superseded by a French general and his aid-de-camp, while the troops of the king were marched under foreign banners to assist in the subjugation of his former generous ally.

The Emperor of Russia, when by a fortunate course of events he had freed himself from the enemy, was induced, partly through private friendship, and partly through a feel-

ing of public spirit, to attempt the deliverance of Prussia; and the zealous ardor he shewed on that occasion needs neither comment nor explanation.

As the Russian army were advancing upon Berlin, the king, though narrowly watched by the French, contrived to make his escape by night, and fled to Breslau. The wretched citizens were now placed in the most awkward dilemma; their wishes and feelings were more than suspected by the French garrison and its commanders. The lower classes, incapable of restraining their expressions of hatred, instigated still more by the daily appearance of the Cossacks at their very gates, seemed every instant on the point of committing some daring act of open revolt against their oppressors; while they, on the other hand, conscious of the rancorous feeling they had provoked, redoubled their menaces of vengeance, and at one time in so high a tone of insolence, as publicly to declare that the first act of aggression on the part of the inhabitants should be followed by the explosion of the military magazines in the Place de Guillaume, which would infallibly have involved in their destruction more than one half of the city. The atrocious temper of the soldiery was well known, and every day seemed big with the threat of some dreadful catastrophe. After a few weeks spent in this fearful state of suspense, at length the French retreated: the gates were instantly thrown open, and the Russians took possession of the place, where they were received as deliverers. Long tables were spread in the streets, hospitality of every sort was profusely lavished

on the welcome strangers; and, to complete the general satisfaction, the king, complying with the voice of his country, issued a manifesto declaring war against France.

To the battles of Lutzen and Bautzen (which, though unfortunate, afforded some grounds of confidence to the troops), an armistice succeeded: it was granted on terms favourable to the ulterior designs of the allies; but the people, looking on war as the only means of escaping from the tyranny of Buonaparte, felt distrustful of the motives of this cessation of arms; they feared the continuance of the late obnoxious system, and received the king, on his return to Berlin, with sullen discontent. Scarce had a gleam of satisfaction darted upon them, when their hopes seemed at once to close, and they began to vent their disappointment in murmur and complaint: one or two individuals, indeed, were thrown into prison by the police for making public their opinions. Of the enthusiasm that afterwards burst out we have seen ample testimony above; but it is worth while to indulge a few reflections upon the circumstance here alluded to, and the obvious tendency of such an order of things.

Under a form of government that admits no legitimate mode of expressing public sentiment, it is impossible not to respect at least this misplaced zeal, however reprehensible. The Prussians are a people, if properly treated, neither factious nor designing; yet the unfortunate policy of the court, so long persisted in, had excited complaints that were heard from time to time, and have in fact produced the

germs of parties that may one day or other, with the aid of that philosophy which is now so much in vogue, be of a dangerous consequence to the welfare of the country. A despotism is a primitive form of government, injurious ever to itself or its neighbours, which ought to be disavowed amongst the more enlightened nations of Europe, in such an era as the present.

But views of a higher nature than the rights and interests of a single nation seem to require that in a large portion of the European continent certain changes should be made. The public weal of Europe demands that Germany should be free: if she is not to lie at the mercy of the first conqueror that appears on the stage of the world, whether from the east or the west, her sovereigns* must be supported in

* The Prussian government, by the decrees of 27 October, 1810, modified 24 April, 1812, is constituted as follows: The king, as sovereign, issues his orders partly through the council of state, partly through the cabinet.

The *Council of State* comprises the princes of the royal house, the chancellor of state (president, having the superintendance of all the superior courts); ministers of state (interior, finance, justice, war, foreign affairs); the secretary of state, and other members appointed for particular times and purposes. The *Cabinet* is composed of the chancellor of state; the ministers of state (as before); a conseiller intime for civil affairs, and those of the court; the chief of the military department, and other persons especially appointed for military affairs.

The Prussian subjects enjoy no political liberty; their civil liberties, if they exist practically, only do so by sufferance. As to the much vaunted story of Frederic II. and the miller, it appears, on the very face of it, to prove their actual servitude. We are told, that in the course of the trial, certain representations, by private means, were made to the king; and sentence being given against the opinion he had formed, he reversed it (for he has this power), and punished

the day of trial by the powers and energies of a free people, without which the colossal bulwarks that modern policy has sought to raise for her protection will stand forward but to expose the more their real impotence.

Had Prussia been blessed with a representative system, had the feelings of the people been consulted, she would long since have decided, at a single blow, that war in which Europe was now engaged in for the sixth time.

Had Austria* been so constituted, had a proper spirit of inquiry and activity thoroughly cleansed and purged the several parts of her political frame, that country, possessing the greatest national resources, and the finest troops in the world, would not have to lament the fatal reverses that have

several members of the court by imprisonment: he then directed a new trial, when the same sentence which was before given was confirmed by the second tribunal, and followed with the same consequences to its component members.

The reader may hence judge of the freedom of a Prussian subject. On one point, nevertheless, they are at liberty; all religions are tolerated, and no persons, on the ground of non-conformity to the Lutheran church, are held disqualified from office: the Catholics however are in fact never employed.

There is a chamber of the states (landschaft) of the Electoral March, composed of prelates, nobles, and citizens: but their powers only extend to the guaranteeing the public debts of the electorate and providing the payment of their interest; the revenues of certain imposts being granted *by the king* for that purpose.

Since the above was sent to the press, rumours have arisen of an intention on the part of the king to give his subjects a free constitution: nothing has, I believe, yet been done.

* The causes of the failure of this war are well detailed in a work entitled "Tableau de la Guerre de l'Annee neuf." The book was suppressed by the Austrian government soon after its appearance.

arisen from a disorganized government, administered by the hand of imbecility.

A pure monarchy is found weakest in a defensive war. Buonaparte never failed to take advantage of the defects of this form of government where it existed; and where it did not, introduced it himself, in order to abet his schemes of universal domination: prohibiting in every state in Germany the accustomed meetings of the *landstände**, or parliament, and investing the sovereigns with despotic power. He pursued the most obvious course of policy to serve his purpose, well calculating the difference of persuading a people, and cajoling or frightening their prince.

The steadiness with which the poisonous principles, disseminated by the French revolutionists, were universally rejected in Germany, where the tri-coloured flag, when hoisted, met only with outcry and execrations, is a circumstance that shews, in points of no inconsiderable importance, how far their natural temperament is of a description fit to be entrusted with the advantages of a well-regulated freedom; they are indeed a people both morally and physically capable of a moderation and a tranquillity unknown to any other country, and suited almost beyond any other for the enjoyment of such a government. Nor

* Out of respect to this ancient system, Buonaparte established in the constitution of Westphalia an annual assembly called the Reitzende; their power, however, was as nugatory as that of the senate at Paris or Milan: whether a law proposed by the government was approved by the body or rejected, it was invariably carried into effect, after their prorogation, if it accorded with the wishes of the king.

would the condition of society at large be less benefited by this alteration than the general health of the Germanic body. Although these are the last times in which hints should be thrown out against those prejudices of prescriptive rights that form the best safeguards of social order, yet it must be confessed, the rigid aristocratic ideas of Germany might be lowered, without proving detrimental either to one party or the other. The nobility are much too high, the other classes far too low. Frederic II. felt the necessity of some relaxations on this head, and gave great facilities to the alienation of the landed property of the nobility, which, before his time, was not legally possible: doubtless it was done with this view; but that very circumstance, since it has taken place, has again essentially added to the necessity of accommodating the form of government to those new conditions of society which have been introduced by this partial alteration, and which will make themselves apparent daily more and more. But these are high topics which we must leave to those who are engaged in more profound speculations, and pass on to objects that necessarily fall within the province of a traveller.

September 13.—Our journey from Prentzlaw to Paisewalde, and to Anclam, was over a tract much resembling what we had before seen in our journey from Rostock. The towns were mostly surrounded with high, ruinous walls; and their houses and churches were antique structures of brick, the latter ornamented with profusion of carvework in the same material. Near to Anclam two sentry-boxes, a few yards distant from each other, painted with the colours

of their respective sovereigns, marked the line of the frontier: we passed from the black and white barrier to the blue and yellow, and entered the province of Swedish Pomerania.

The university of Griefswalde was the first place we saw of note; here however we were in danger of being detained longer than its curiosities would have afforded food for our amusement. Some of the new Russian regiments, embodied from the German prisoners taken in the late campaign, had just disembarked; and from the number of horses they put in requisition, it was with much difficulty that we were provided for our next stage to Stralsund, whither we arrived, with tired and jaded cattle, at a late hour.

To our great delight we were challenged in our own vernacular, and the gates of the garrison were speedily opened. We found the British troops were stationed here, whose passage through the Sound had so much alarmed the Danes, and whose arrival on the Continent had excited so many conjectures. Their number was not very considerable, amounting on the whole to not more than about 3,600 men: but they were full of life and spirit, and possessed of a well assured confidence in the character of their commander, Major-general Gibbs; the same gallant officer who stormed the Cornelius bastion at the capture of Batavia, and who so lately distinguished himself but too fatally in the unfortunate affair before New Orleans.

The appearance of an English parade was a splendid novelty at Stralsund, as striking in respect of dress and discipline, as in every other point of military show; the

men, from the largeness of their pay, were looked upon by those engaged in foreign service as comparatively opulent personages; almost all sorts of liquor were within their reach, and their subsistence was provided at a much lower rate than the ordinary stoppage money at home amounted to. Indeed an offer* made by some of the townspeople to furnish them on terms scarce equalling half the price at which the same might have been done in England, may serve to give an idea of the affluent condition of our soldiers when quartered in these parts.

The mode of maintaining a French garrison, to which the inhabitants had been long accustomed, entirely supersedes the necessity of stipulation in such matters. Lodgings are of course provided, and with the ticket of billet is delivered a list of the articles that each householder provides gratis for his inmates, in which an increase is regularly made according to the rank of the claimant: their general amount may be guessed by the daily allowance which is specified in French and German measure, for the subsistence of each common soldier.

	Bread.	Meat.	Rice or Pulse.		Salt.	Liquor, per quart.
Onces	28	10	2	4	$\frac{1}{20}$ livre	$\frac{1}{20}$ brandy, or $\frac{1}{24}$ vinegar, or
Loths	Pfund 28	20	4	8	$1\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{4}{5}$ beer.

Generals and colonels '*ne pourront exiger de leurs hôtes que le chauffage, l'éclairage & les utensiles de cuisine linge de table, &c. dont ils auront besoin:*' officers of inferior rank have the right of boarding at the table of their landlord,

* They would provide a man with three hot meals each day for an allowance of 2½d. at the same time receiving from him his rations.

where they generally take care to order the dinner, and prescribe the number of dishes.

It is not difficult to imagine the surprise that strangers expressed at the expensive nature of our army establishment; so little sparing of money, and so independent in its principle.

When the Crown Prince was at Stralsund, he remarked to General Gibbs, among other particulars, his surprise at seeing the vast number of women who accompanied the troops, "Perhaps," said he, "near 200:" he was answered that about 300 half rations were daily served out as the allowance for them on the part of government. "What "an expense!" exclaimed the prince; "And how many females," he asked of his aid-de-camp, "have we with our "Swedish army?" "Only one, your royal highness," was the answer, "and she is a colonel's lady." "What a marvellous "expense! What immense resources!" continued the prince, "but it must be remembered you are the British nation." Though these forces were not destined to take a very active part in the war, they had been kept on the alert by the recent attempt of Davoust upon this part of the country. His advance was the cause of great agitation to the people of Stralsund, and their fears were not a little increased by the sudden arrival of the Duke of Mecklenberg Schwerin, a fugitive from Dobberan, spreading consternation on every side. The merchants instantly embarked their goods and valuables on board the vessels in the harbour; others, still more terrified by persons interested in the outcry, sold all the moveable articles they possessed, in order to furnish

themselves with the necessary money for flight, and half ruined themselves by this useless precaution. Nevertheless, in the midst of this confusion, the citizens were not by any means wanting in display of a spirit suitable to the occasion: the landsturm of the district were instantly assembled and marched into the town; the citizens were mustered, and persons alike, of all ranks, joined in the common labours on the fortifications. The chevalier, with stars and crosses on his breast, and the pampered and wealthy burgomaster, were seen mixed indiscriminately with the poorest and meanest village peasants that were attached to this daily employment.

The alarm was fortunately not of long duration; General Vegesac, with a corps of 7000 men, stationed on the plains near Rostock, held the French completely in check, and, after a few affairs with the outposts, they suddenly retired. Had Stralsund been their object, one may, without hesitation, affirm that notwithstanding the famous history of the siege of this city, where Charles XII. made so long a stand against the united forces of the allies, it is incapable of making any protracted defence under the present system of war. Seven insulated bastions are constructed round the body of the place, but its chief protection on the land side consists in the inundation of a small marsh, kept up by means of dams on the north and south; the works of offence, however, as well as the whole of the town, are commanded by the rising grounds on the west, lying within the distance of six or seven hundred yards, which are far too extensive to be occupied (with a view to defence) by any thing

short of a powerful army. A parapet would have been thrown up in a single night sufficient to shelter the troops from an enemy's fire, but no exertion could possibly have saved the town. Should it have been held advisable to withdraw the forces, this measure was also provided for; a bridge of boats had been established to Dannenholm, (an island adjoining Rugen) and protected by a strong *tête du pont*. The access was not difficult, the passage being only a few hundred yards in length from the gates of Stralsund, and covered by the remains of some works which the French had formerly erected, for the purpose of commanding certain situations under the heights where the batteries of a besieging corps might have been advantageously established.

It was from the north-west that Stralsund was attacked and carried by the allies in 1716: the relics of the fortifications of that date are few, though some remains may be still observed in detached parts on the side of the sea. The French, as might be expected, with their characteristic love of plunder, had taken down and sold the greater part of the materials previous to their departure.

In one of our daily rambles we came upon the spot where the famous Schill was murdered in 1809: one of the neighbouring inhabitants pointed out to us a cellar head that marked the place where he fell. It was at the junction of two narrow streets above the Farn Gate, where he left his followers on the point of embarkation; himself returning on some trifling errand, unaccompanied, into the town,

little anticipating the fate that awaited him. A party of Dutchmen, induced by the reward which Buonaparte had offered for his head, seized this opportunity, surrounded, and attacked him in a body. He defended himself for some time with great courage, and at last dropped, pierced with upwards of eighteen gun-shot wounds! His mangled corpse was then carried to the hotel and exposed to public view, for the sake of identifying his person, that the reward might be adjudged to those concerned in the perpetration of the murder. This deed, though unavenged, is not forgotten: a brother of the unfortunate hero, leagued with the sons of Palm, and the nephews of Hofer, had raised a standard, round which numbers of injured patriots eagerly rallied, all united in one and the same feeling of personal enmity to the author of their wrongs. Their long beards, their lofty plumes, and their uniforms of black, were so many perpetual emblems as well of their grief, as of their deadly and implacable hatred; and they entered into an engagement, by oath, when first received into this body, neither to give nor receive quarter. But the hope that the hour of retribution was at hand seemed now to be daily strengthened by the arrival of every fresh courier, and the tide of success rolled on. It was on the 23d we heard of the victory gained by General Walmoden, with the Anglo-Russian corps at Danneberg, cutting to pieces and dispersing a detachment of 10,000 men, who were on their way to join the French army at Dresden. The British 73d regiment, that had for some time before acted with this division, had the good fortune

to share the glory of the day. This continued series of triumphs on the part of the allies seemed daily to gain proselytes to their cause: still the feeling was not every where equally prevalent, and even at Stralsund, where the commercial interest might be supposed to have bred a contrary sentiment, there existed a party friendly in secret to the French cause. There were in fact no places without some few individuals who embraced this side, either regretting the loss of the power they had enjoyed under the former administration, or, as was the case with the mob, dazzled by the imposing style of French politics; for these had long been the ruling fashion, and were still ably maintained by the artifices of many ingenious and sophistical writers. I have frequently heard the more uninformed people, in the middling class of life, declaim strongly against the several prohibitions of the Berlin and Milan decrees, but at the same time attribute them, in the true whimsical spirit of the French journalists, to the maritime oppression of the English, rather than to the ambitious schemes of France: it was they, forsooth, whose encroaching system made such acts necessary, while the French (poor innocents) were but the unwilling promulgators of a severe but salutary code of laws. It is fruitless to contend with prejudices that arise from interested motives, and needless to attempt the refutation of principles that must eventually find themselves their own corrective.

The port of Stralsund was now free from these restrictions, and wore the appearance of a considerable commercial

depot. The articles with which the vessels were freighted consisted chiefly of colonial produce, for from the use of these the continent had been long debarred. On some goods of this sort immense profits were realised; coffee in particular has at times borne a charge of 500 or 600 per cent. But the sale in general was now growing dull; the uncertain prospect of political affairs had a very sensible influence on the market, and the whole of Germany, as yet liberated from French oppression, was fully supplied, at least to the extent they dared to receive.

The heavy exactions of the Prussian tariff imposed another check upon the activity of commerce; but great expectations were raised of opening a larger field for concerns of this nature, if the success of the campaign should deliver Leipsig from the hands of the enemy, before the annual meeting at the fair. There were a few Russian merchants at Stralsund and some other foreigners, yet none seemed to equal, in any way, the quickness and skill of the English and Scotch in discovering a vent for their goods.

Sept. 27.—We set out for Bornhoft by land, in order to avoid the tediousness of a voyage up the Streights, intending to embark at that point on board the Swedish packet for Ystadt; nor had we reason to repent of our plan, for the continuance of a south-east wind lowered the depth of the water to such a degree, that the vessel took ground more than once in the course of the day: even some of the hulks, which the French had formerly sunk with a view to

obstruct the passage, shewed themselves in part above the surface, so astonishing was the diminution that had taken place in a few hours. A similar example of this phenomenon occasioned the loss of Stralsund to Charles XII.: but it is of very frequent occurrence in the narrow and obstructed seas of the Baltic, as well as the Adriatic, and, probably, other places similarly situated: it arises from the great accumulation of the waters under the operation of a wind blowing constantly from the same quarter; and in the present instance a change happening to the north-west, they were again raised three or four feet during the night. Unfortunately this point was an unfavourable one for our voyage, and a circumstance which, together with the sluggish timidity of our captain, delayed us seven days off the coast. On the eighth, we finally set sail, to our great delight, for the coast of Sweden.

The sinking of the hulks above-mentioned was not the only measure which the French had taken to impede the passage of this streight to the British shipping; we saw some batteries which they had erected on the coast with this view. As they took into their own hands, however, the administration of the government of Swedish Pomerania, this step cannot be viewed with surprise; but similar erections which we had before noticed on the coast of Mecklenburg were flagrant instances of their interference, in a part where they had not even a colourable pretence for the act.

In a mineralogical point of view, the tract we had

passed presented no great varieties: it was a plain country, whose soil contained a large portion of a reddish-coloured sand, arising from the partial decomposition of those rocks which are now found scattered in loose fragments on its surface. These were large *boulder* stones of granite, or gneiss, intersected with veins of quartz, and of different sizes, from three to four tons weight to the size of an ordinary pebble, all of them partially rounded in their form.

The general face of this district bore a strong resemblance in these respects to the lowlands of the south of Sweden; it differed indeed only in displaying a more level surface, and in abounding more frequently with rivers and lakes. The soil of the valleys was blacker and richer where these appeared than in the uplands; and the same observation may be made of the nature of the soil of the island of Rugen, as well as of the coast of Pomerania, which grows less sandy on approaching the sea. The broken cliffs on the north of Rugen, at Cape Jasmund, &c. are, however, of a white sand, lying under a thick crust of mould.

These heights were as a middle point, that seemed to carry on the idea of a connexion between the two long ranges of hills that appear in a direction north and south on the opposite coasts of Sweden and Germany. They may be traced in the former from the branches of a primitive formation, near the lake Wettern, to Ystadt, and are denominated the Linderods Naen: in the latter there is a

line similarly formed, and in like way scattered with *boulder* stones, which may be observed to rise at a short distance from the coast, whence they continue till they subside into the plains near Gransee.

The lime used at Berlin came from Rudersdorf; the coal, we were told, from Glogau, Schweidnitz, &c.

SECTION II.

SWEDEN.

Ystadt—Carlscrona—Arsenal, &c.—Calmar—Jonkoping—Linkoping—State of the Peasantry, &c.—Stockholm—Society, &c.—Commencement of Winter—Arts and Sciences—Agriculture—Trade—Currency—Criminal Execution—Swedish Character—Election of Bernadotte—Politics—Treaty of Kiel—Fête at Court—Vision of Charles XI.—Constitution of Sweden—Phenomena attending the severe cold—Upsala University—Clergy, &c.—Swedenborg—Mine of Dannemora—Forges, &c.—Grisleham—Passage over the Gulf of Finland on the Ice—Telegraph—Mineralogical Sketch of Sweden.

THE short voyage we were about to make seemed scarcely to need the protection of a convoy; it was said, however, that the Danish island of Bornholm swarmed with pirates, and we were escorted by a smart gun-brig, called the *Venta Littel**. Her singular name consists of two words of the most frequent occurrence in the mouth of a Swede, as every traveller in that country must have experienced. It was given from the accidental expression of the late Gus-

* Wait a little.

tavus IV. at the launch of the vessel. He was not, it seems, quite prepared when the time of her quitting the stocks was announced: this phrase escaping him at the moment, the "king of dreams" seized the omen with a truly classical avidity—and the ship was christened accordingly. Our fellow passengers, during the voyage, consisted of a motley company: a Swedish major and family, a Westphalian merchant, a Gottenburgh supercargo, two German and Swedish barons, a student of Schwerin, a British messenger, an English esquire, a Russian envoy, a Rostock burgomaster, a Scotch mercantile traveller, and a captive pirate, who was about to suffer judgment for his marauding expeditions off the coast, under the licence of the French administration. We had another prisoner on board, a French deserter, whose lank-worn looks bore testimony to the long course of suffering which he related, and but ill accorded with the feeble efforts of his innate cheerfulness and levity. Originally a conscript of the department of the Loire, he was marched to Russia in the campaign of 1812, and having survived the calamities of that memorable retreat, bivouacking on the snow, witnessing the savageness of cannibalism, and a thousand other acts of horror, he arrived at Stettin, where, amidst a half-starved garrison, he underwent for several months all the privations that attended the siege. So familiar had he grown with misery, that he described his abode there as a season of comparative comfort and repose: his stomach was become so habituated to fasting, that although he had not, he said, taken any food for

near 40 hours before he was received in the packet, yet he felt no strong symptoms of pain or uneasiness, and eat what was given him without betraying any signs of a voracious or ravenous appetite. The Crown Prince's proclamation, offering 200 francs and a settlement in Sweden to any French soldier who should desert, had induced him to quit the service, a step that he effected with great difficulty. How far his expectations were afterwards realised I know not, but we left him in the jail at Ystadt.

The day after our landing we pursued our journey over a fine open tract of land covered with grain, containing nothing to attract our attention, except a few solitary barrows on the road side, similar in shape to those we had before seen on the western coast near Halmstadt. These are monuments of ages too rude to be borne in record on the lettered page of history; but their appearance, wheresoever in the world they are met with, on the Shannon or the Ohio, in the wilds of Mexico or of Siberia, never fails to create a feeling of interest and enquiry that would gladly unravel the uncertainty of their story.

Oct. 4.—The fortress of Christianstadt, our first station, was noted as the scene of the debut in arms of the great Gustavus Adolphus, who won it from the Danes at the early age of 16. Considerable fortifications are still remaining to mark its importance, though probably of a later date than the reign of that monarch.

On leaving the town and the marshy swamp that surrounds it, we passed from the southern lowlands to a new

region. The country, gradually rising from the plain, assumed a more varied and pleasing form, adorned with hill and dale, and rocks and woods; numberless scattered fragments of stones, with the trees writhing from amidst their clefts, formed in places the most picturesque combinations; while time after time, as the carriage emerged from the shade of the forest, the eye was cheered by the glitter of the sea inlets that intersected its borders. Amidst this beautiful scenery we were conducted to the romantic environs of Carlsham, a town which hung like a nest upon the cliffs.

As we entered its streets we observed a more neat and flourishing appearance than could have been expected in so wild a quarter, owing chiefly to the temporary advantages thrown into the hands of the inhabitants by the French continental system. For not only Gottenburg and Malmo, but this port also, whose situation indeed was better adapted for the purpose, had become of late years an entrepot for British goods and colonial produce on their way to the continent. They were reshipped, and exported as opportunity might serve, upon paying only the moderate duty *ad valorem* of one per cent. to the Swedish government. Fortunately for Europe, this state of things was now at an end, and we congratulated ourselves on seeing the port of Carlsham nearly empty.

Oct. 6.—Carlscrona was the next town on our road: it occupies a cluster of small islands lying on the sea-coast: three

of these, connected together by long wooden bridges, form the site of the town, the rest of the group serve for the erection of works of defence to protect the harbour. On some are built square castles of stone, well furnished with ordnance, and containing in the centre lofty towers with two tiers of embrasures: their appearance is formidable enough, though probably they are not capable of coping with the tremendous battery that a ship of the line would open against them: a similar mode of fortification, nevertheless, seems to have been formerly much in vogue on the coasts of Sweden and Finland. We observed examples of the same nature at Gottenburg, Bohus, Marstrand, as afterwards at Wiborg and other places; many of them are still maintained as fortresses.

The arsenal of Carlscrona is interesting as the chief naval depot of a power who so much distinguished herself during the first war of Finland, although it has happened of late years that she has had very little occasion for armaments by sea. At this time not more than six sail of the line were in port, and of those only one apparently ready for service; but, together with one ship on the stocks, and the Gustavus III. stationed off Helsinburg, they formed the total amount of Swedish shipping of that class.

Here is likewise a station for the flotilla, or *flotte de l'armée*, which is in Sweden a totally separate establishment from that of the navy. We were not, however, much interested in these matters. To strangers the objects chiefly pointed

out to their notice are the covered docks, for which the place is celebrated; and having obtained permission of the port admiral, we proceeded to inspect them.

The first and original work consists of a large bason excavated from the solid rock, and secured at the top by a roof resting on 12 square massive pillars. Surrounded as it is in the interior with steps rising one above the other like the *gradini* of an amphitheatre, and being of dimensions capable of receiving a second-rate ship of the line, it has an air of no ordinary grandeur: very different in effect from the appearance of the covered slips, of which so much boast is made, in the arsenal at Venice, that shew but as large wooden barns or granaries when compared with this magnificent edifice. At a little distance was a spot allotted for the erection of some new docks on a similar principle of construction: there was a large reservoir, around which ten of these buildings were to have been formed in masonry of granite: only five, however, were in any state of forwardness, and of these, two alone were covered in.

The want of the advantages derived from the alternate ebb and flow of the tide is, in some respects, attended with inconvenience on the coast of the Baltic; but an easy remedy is provided by an artificial rise and fall: for the reservoir with which the docks communicate is filled by sluices opening to the port, and emptied again at pleasure, the water being drawn off with a pump that acts by windmill sails.

Their machinery for stepping masts was after the fashion of the one in use at the East India docks in London. The model rooms contained some beautiful draughts and mouldings of the hulls of ships, which were chiefly also of English construction, with other miscellaneous articles, of more credit perhaps to Swedish ingenuity than of real practical utility.

It may not be amiss at this place to hazard a few remarks on a subject much canvassed by certain modern writers, the supposed subsidence of the Baltic sea. As far as I have been able to ascertain, this notion seems to have been founded on sundry local remarks made in detached situations, all of them capable of explanation from plain and natural circumstances, without having recourse to so extraordinary a supposition. Either the encroachment of the coast upon the sea in some parts, by reason of new alluvial formations; or in others, the diminished depth of the soundings, on account of the accumulation of sand amidst the obstructions of a broken shore; or again, ancient memorials of those occasional phenomena that arise (as was before mentioned) from the long continuance of the wind in particular quarters, have furnished the groundwork of this fanciful theory; or indeed it may happen that some vestiges are traced of that great lake which, no doubt, once covered the countries bordering upon the Baltic before its waters forced themselves a passage to the German ocean. With regard to the fact of a gradual and constant subsidence, it is to be objected that no complaint of a diminution of

water in the port is heard at Carlscrona, although established as a naval arsenal in the reign of Charles XI.; nor indeed has any injury been sustained by the old dock, where a more particularly accurate observation must necessarily have been taken, and in which the alleged decrease of 40 inches in a century could not fail to have a sensible effect. But neither at any of the towns where the harbours are fenced by old piers has a want of water been experienced, unless from the ordinary deposition and laying up of the mud; nor in those where new works have been erected is any regard had in their plan to this supposed operation of nature, which, if it really took place, must inevitably unfit them in the lapse of a few years for the purposes they are intended to fulfil. Enough, however, has been said of so visionary and chimerical an hypothesis.

Leaving Carlscrona, we made for Calmar, one of those towns which was fortified during the Danish wars, and considered an important hold on the frontier of Sweden before the southern provinces were added to her dominions. A Swedish garrison has at the present day a slovenly appearance: the men slouching, negligent, and aukward; their clothes (for the frock of Charles XII. is disused) cut in a bad French style, and their accoutrements in very ordinary trim. The high yellow feather in their round hats is a whimsical addition to their figures; it is said to be the device of Gustavus Adolphus, who, observing his men had not any cockades such as the other troops in Germany wore, ordered them to carry a wisp of straw in their caps by way

of distinction: and a few years back, one of the Swedish regiments of guards still bore the knot of straw when mustered on parade; it was neatly made up, and the officers substituted for it a tuft of yellow fringe with threads of silk.

Close on the beach stood the castle, a venerable mansion, that would have arrested our attention, even were it not a place otherwise remarkable from the signature of a league celebrated in modern history: the room, though now used as a magazine, is yet shewn, where Margaret, the daughter of Waldemar, concluded the union of the three kingdoms of the North.

The gold mine of Adelfors was on our road the second day after we left Calmar: notwithstanding its promising title, this property is but of little value to the owner, scarcely repaying the expense of working: only sixty or seventy ducats were the amount of the produce of last year. The precious metal is found in small grains, imbedded in a rock of mica slate, which is intersected by veins of quartz and pyritous matter; this stone being broken down and ground to powder, the gold is procured by the usual mode of washing, for which an ingenious apparatus was constructed on the spot.

Oct. 8.—This part of our journey was far from agreeable: the wretched cottages of the post-master afforded but poor accommodation; besides which, the heavy autumnal rains that had set in rendered travelling wearisome and tedious, by the gloom it cast on the scenery around. The country con-

L. F. Jomer del.t

Etched by the Hon.ble H.ry Legge.

SCENE in the VILLAGE RUNNEBY, BLEKINGEN.

sisted chiefly of forests of fir, with large open spaces cleared out here and there by the fire of the husbandmen; its face, otherwise extremely monotonous, so much so, that however delighted with the first appearance, we now grew tired of its unvarying features and the accustomed routine of wood, rock, and lake. At length, on the morning of the third day after we quitted Calmar, at a sudden turn of the road, the lake Wettern broke in upon the horizon: a smooth expanse of water, with a long range of hills rising majestically over its borders. The view was magnificent and grand, and though, perhaps, chiefly meriting this character from its extent, yet so vast, that the eye felt no regret for the want of the interesting and varied detail which forms the charm of landscape on a smaller scale. Just below our feet the scattered town of Jonköping shewed itself, stretching across the head of the lake, and appeared the only feature that relieved the natural wildness of the prospect.

The favourable impression its first glimpse had afforded was not lessened on our arrival within its precincts; we found a place decorated with numerous public buildings, as well as the mansions of many people of condition who were induced to settle here from the amenity of the situation. It is, in fact, a sort of metropolis for the south of Sweden, and is become, from its local advantages, not only the residence of the government of this province, but also the seat of the grand parlement, the high court of appeal from the lower Haräds or districts of the judicial circuits.

We rested ourselves a short time in this delightful abode,

and thence pursued our road on the banks of the lake. Vadstena borę formerly a name of greater importance than its present state seemed to indicate. We were here shewn with much veneration the palace of Gustavus Vasa, who frequently made this town the residence of his court. It now lay in a mouldering and neglected condition, only inhabited in obscure and detached parts by poor people, occupied in weaving of damask linen, which is the chief article of trade in these parts.

The air and character of the edifice is of a picturesque style, but, when examined minutely, exhibits all the incongruous deformities of the Gothic combined with the inelegance of misproportioned Grecian architecture, and bears the strongest resemblance to the mixed fashion of building in England, which was so prevalent during the 16th and 17th centuries.

We were surprised to fall in with two Scotchmen at the inn: they informed us they were employed under our countryman, Mr. Telford, to superintend the labourers on the East Gotha canal, which is entrusted to his skill and management. This work is intended to complete the chain of communication with the Baltic through West Gothland and the lakes Wenner and Wettern to the Trolhättan canal, the same that we had seen in a former part of our journey.

The town of Linköping, our next stage, claims also its share of historical interest. It was here that Sigismund, who had been elected to the crown of Poland while hereditary Prince of Sweden, gained a victory over his uncle,

Charles, the protector of the kingdom: the prejudices, however, he had shewn in favour of the Roman Catholic religion entirely alienated the wishes of the nation from his cause: even the success that attended his arms availed him but little. A meeting of the Diet was afterwards convened in 1600 at this same place, where he had been saluted as conqueror, when he was, by general consent, declared unfit to reign, and the crown settled, to the exclusion of the true line of descent, on Charles and his posterity. This memorable assertion of political rights is worthy of record in the annals of the liberty of the North, and a case to which a parallel may be easily found in the history of our own island. The cathedral of Linköping, a venerable witness of those days, is, perhaps, the finest ecclesiastical structure in the kingdom; but since it was rebuilt, after a conflagration, near four centuries ago, it can serve to throw very little light on the mysterious subject of the origin of pointed architecture.

Among the curiosities in the library are preserved some cups curiously wrought of wood thin as paper, and enclosed one within the other to the number of an hundred. These samples of ingenuity are from the lathe of General Steinbock, the hero of Helsingburg; who, after a long career of glory, was made prisoner at Toningen, and obliged to have recourse to these mechanical labours to soothe the tedium of his long confinement in a Danish prison; for (shame to an ungrateful nation!) when the ransom demanded was only 9000 dollars, the gallant general passed the remainder of his life

in captivity. Possibly some political reasons might be assigned to account for the fact; but Sweden was at that time exhausted by the expensive and ruinous wars of Charles XII, and impoverished to a degree that she has not even yet recovered. But without this additional cause of misfortune, the country labours under the pressure of a constant natural poverty, of which abundant proofs daily meet the eye; that are to be recognised in customs and usages, differing so much in many respects from those to be met with elsewhere.

One of the most obvious instances is seen in the singular footing on which the posts are established: we were surprised at each station by the different description of people that presented themselves as our drivers; they were shoemakers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and sometimes even women: they were also, for the most part, the proprietors of the horses themselves; for these were collected in turn from the cottagers of the neighbourhood; one moiety of the charge alone being paid for their hire, and the rest defrayed by the land proprietors of the district. On this account, the small sum demanded for their hire places them, not in the light of a luxury for the use of the rich alone, but throws them within the reach of all classes of the community: the opulent baron, and the poor peasant, are seen posting on the road indiscriminately, habited in every variety of costume, and conveyed in every strange species of carriage, cart, or waggon.

Amongst a widely scattered population, whose con-

dition is not able to support the establishment of regular public carriages, it is necessary to provide some cheap mode of transport, and to facilitate as much as possible the communications of the country. The legislature, seeing this, have adopted a measure, perhaps not ill suited to circumstances, and have laid the burthen on those to whom the greatest benefit must immediately accrue; the Swedish seigneur is more than repaid, for the sum disbursed, by the increased value of every article that his estate produces.

The poor cottagers are not neglected by the government, in point of education, or in other respects sparingly supplied. Parochial schools are universally kept up, under the salutary provisions of a law of Gustavus III.; and there are few among the peasants but what are able both to read and write. With regard to their maintenance, when in distress, constant parochial aid is afforded, and a poor house supported in every parish, at the expense of a light rate upon the property of the wealthier inhabitants. The funds, moreover, arising from the charity boxes for gratuitous donations, are in part destined to the same benevolent purpose; a distribution of their receipts is made to a certain number of out-pensioners, as well as the inmates of the poor house, who are generally portioned in four classes; the sick, the aged, those who have large families, and those who are helpless from their state of extreme poverty.

The honesty of the Swedes is as proverbial as that of

the Highlanders of Scotland, a nation whom they resemble in many particulars; neither are these charity boxes, though frequently placed in the most exposed situations on the road-side, ever fraudulently opened, nor is any other unguarded property, public or private, liable to depredation from the hand of the harmless rustic.

Of other moral qualities I cannot say how large the catalogue may be, but they indisputably possess in a high degree that feeling of rude pride, (I had almost said sulkiness) which distinguishes the manners of the lower class of people under a free government: occasionally, however, higher traits of mind are displayed, and those of a nature to reflect infinite credit on the national character. Hokanson was a peasant of the province of Blekingen, whose name for probity and honour had procured his return to eight successive meetings of the diet, in most of which he received the appointment of Orator or Speaker to his House. He was so greatly respected, and regarded with such esteem, that the King Adolphus Frederic thought it proper to pay him a visit on passing through the district, and even condescended to partake of his cottage cheer. During his abode at Stockholm, he was much caressed by the court; and the Queen amongst others, who sent him presents, gave him a very handsome robe of velvet. On the following day her Majesty happened to meet Hokanson in the streets, and seeing him in his usual dress, she asked, with an air of surprise, whether he had received her gift— "Yes," said he, (opening his coat and exhibiting the velvet

sown on the lining), " I hold it here next my heart, but no " shew of splendor or finery shall ever induce me to forget " my real situation, or to forego the title in which I glory, " of a free peasant of Sweden."

The cottages in this country are built of logs of wood squared and neatly mortised at the coins; they bear too a singular ornament (common also in Germany) of horses heads cut in wood over the gable end. The whole is generally coloured for the purposes of preservation, as well as embellishment, with an artificial ochre, which is procured from the metal founderies. The roofs are planked with fir, or, in those of better condition, covered with thin iron plates painted black. In the interior, the chief article of furniture is an iron or brick stove, which with fuel from the forest (a matter of small expense to the poorest person) affords a comfortable assurance against the rigours of the climate; it is lamentable to add, however, that this method of warming their apartments frequently occasions the death of many of this class: being ignorant, or at least careless of the noxious effect of the vapour of the carbonic acid arising from wood in a state of ignition, they are apt, for the sake of warmth, to shut the damper that closes the chimney flue, and the suffocation of all who may chance to be confined in the room of course ensues: many lives in Sweden are annually sacrificed by this pernicious practice.

The best conditioned, as well as the most wealthy and intelligent race of peasantry, are found in the provinces lying to the north of Stockholm; where in many districts

there exists no class of great landholders, but every individual is himself the proprietor and cultivator of a small plot of land, as is the case among the independent inhabitants of the Tyrol. The tenure of farms or Hemmans in the country, in general, is of much the same nautre as that before mentioned to have obtained in Germany; and since they are here free people, the conditions cannot be very oppressive.

In such a wild region, the uncertainty of the limits, or marches, which may be assigned to any man's property, occasions the necessity of establishing a *corps topographique*, for the arbitration of all disputes on that score. Of this body, who are resident at Stockholm, I cannot refrain from remarking, that considering the accurate geographical information, which must be in their possession, it is somewhat singular that no good maps of Sweden have ever been published, from these sources, or under any authority from the government. The invaluable work of Baron Hermelin was the undertaking of an enlightened and public-spirited individual, who has exhausted the greatest part of his private fortune in a labour, that can only make him a return by name and reputation.

Oct. 14.—The town of Norrköping is intersected by the rocky streams of the Motala, which exhibit themselves in a thousand beautiful points of view. The place is built with neat red houses of wood, ranged in squares, owing their regularity, perhaps, to the frequency of conflagration, but indicating, by their present handsome appearance, the prosperity of the trade afforded from the situation of the

place. It contains about 9,000 inhabitants, and may be said to be the fourth town of Sweden, in point of size.

The chief manufactory is one of broad-cloth; some idea of the nature of whose success may be drawn from the fact that their finest black is offered for sale at the price of nine R. D. B. (27*s.*) per ell, (the measure being three-quarters of a yard English and one yard broad:) yet it is, as may be supposed, much inferior in quality to that imported from England. This branch, however, has met with as much encouragement and assistance as the circumstances of the country allow. The native fleeces of Sweden have been greatly ameliorated by the spirited experiments of Herr Alsomer, about ninety years since: notwithstanding the former fruitless attempts of Queen Christina, he succeeded in producing a mixed breed of sheep, whose wool, though not of the finest quality, yet was equal to that of a second sort in Spain. The Merino ewes that were imported died generally within a year after their arrival, being unable to support the severity of the climate; and their lambs, an ill-conditioned offspring, partaking of the weakness of their dams, survived in general only a short time: upon this Alsomer changed his plan; and by breeding with Merino rams, from the native ewes of Sweden, effected the present improvement. It must be viewed, altogether, as a scheme that redounds greatly to the honour of the country, especially taking into consideration how early a period it was to originate speculations in this branch of agricultural economy.

Of other establishments at Norrköping, there is but one worthy of notice, which is a secular convent, for the education of the daughters of the nobility. A girl is here secure, under any circumstances, of a retreat and provision for life, on the stipulation of a small sum, which is paid at the time of her birth. She is permitted to frequent society at pleasure; and is only distinguished by wearing a particular dress, being of an azure colour, and of a neat and simple form. No forced rules compel the votaries of this Lutheran nunnery to a life of celibacy; they are at liberty to contract marriage at any time, only submitting their choice to the approval of their superior, or priorinna.

The agriculture, in the country we passed, seemed in a very creditable state; and the land bore evident marks of an increased value as we approached the metropolis: the fields were in some places enclosed; their fences made of stakes of fir, driven into the ground in a slanting direction; a mode very common throughout the north of Europe. Besides this, surface drains were cut, their grounds well kept, and clean; and the rye was already appearing above the ridges. Tobacco we were told was one of the articles, whose produce ensured the greatest pecuniary returns; we saw several fields that had been cultivated with this plant, and in this situation, so near to Stockholm, it is stated to yield near eight times the profit of any other crop: but its culture has not been long introduced, or very widely extended.

From Nyköping we made for Sodertellje; the last town on this long route, of near 500 English miles, that we had traversed since our departure from Ystadt. Here we passed over the line of another canal, which is intended to form a communication between the southern coast of the Mæler and the Baltic sea; since the difficulties of the narrow and winding passage of the entrance from the west present great obstacles to the ready dispatch of commercial business at the metropolis. A second cut connects these waters with Stromsholm, in the province of Westmanland, so that the projected alteration will be productive of double advantages. It must be confessed indeed, that at the present day, a new era of exertion and improvement seems to dawn among the Swedes; and every effort is made to surmount those natural impediments, which have hitherto retarded their progress towards a higher state of national prosperity.

The visit of custom-house officers, with a tediously formal inspection of passports, are the ordinary vexations which the ceremonious and rigid Swedes impose every where upon a traveller; and no where more rigidly, or pertinaciously, than at Stockholm: but since a resident citizen himself, when driving out for an airing, is subject to the same inconvenience, a stranger cannot fairly expect to escape unnoticed. After some delay with these troublesome inquisitors, we at length, however, entered the town; which, though much spoken of by travellers, was a place that far exceeded in interest the utmost limits of our expectations.

Uniting every beauty of wild nature, with the charms attendant upon the scenes of more active life; echoing the clamour of the bustling populace amidst rocks, that have not yet ceased to ring with the woodman's axe; rivalling at one display the boasted cliffs of Edinburgh, the broad lake of Geneva, and the streets and shipping of Venice: its view presents a romantic vision, that not even the highest powers of the art of description could ever attempt to delineate.

The examples of architecture within the town, if we except the mansions of the royal family, are not of a style at all corresponding with these delightful environs. The private houses make little show; and the general air of the public buildings is not of the first style of magnitude, or in any way remarkable for good taste. One point may be selected, that exhibits in a single prospect all that the capital can boast, of this description. There is a long bridge of granite, connecting the city in the centre with the northern quarters of the town: immediately at one extremity rises the Royal Palace, a large square edifice, with extensive wings, and of the most simple and elegant contour: the other extremity is terminated by an equestrian statue of Gustavus Adolphus, forming the chief object of a square, that is bounded, on the sides, by handsome edifices of the Corinthian order; one the palace of the Princess Sophia, the other the Italian Opera-house.

At a little distance, a low portico obtrudes itself to notice, serving rather to disfigure than to ornament the

L. T. James del.t

T. Clark sculp.t

view: it is no way worthy of mention, except on account of its singularly fantastic fashion and bad conception. One corner of the building of the Mint being bevelled off, a four-legged protuberance, of the Doric order, was affixed thereto, in conformity with the whimsical fancy of Gustavus III. who was misled by an unfortunate prepossession in favour of his own talents, as an architect. There certainly is not an instance in all London, (and it is saying much) of a portico constructed with so little deference to correctness of judgment or true classical feeling.

But Swedish taste, in general, has its peculiarities, and of this ample specimens are seen in the houses, both in town and country: whatever their date may be, whether they are built in the Italian fashion, the Gothic or the mixed, the same air and character almost universally prevails. They are formed in a meagre and hungry style, with small windows, puny decorations, niggardly proportions, and devoid of any attempt at relief in their parts: they look bare and naked, resembling rather the outlines of the drawing of an elevation, before it is filled up with shade, than a finished work.

The nation is not now likely to be improved by many modern examples: they have wisely turned their attention to those matters of political economy, which ought, in the course of nature, at all times to precede the developement of taste in the fine arts. Unable to support extravagance by their own resources, they have ceased also to seek the means from abroad; and the modern residences of

the Swedish nobles are built with an appearance of far more honourable mediocrity than those that were erected in former days with the retaining fees of the intermeddling and officious agents of foreign powers. Many mansions of this latter description are yet left standing; but they are considered as of too large a scale, and for the greater part abandoned by their proprietors.

Nov. 1.—We were presented at court. The king appeared in an extremely feeble state; and when he had asked a few questions relative to the military operations of the Crown Prince, during the time we had stayed in Germany, we were dismissed from his presence. The chamber where he held his levee was the same in which his nephew, Gustavus IV., had but a few years before been placed under arrest by General Ardlercreutz; when all the ties existing between a people to their sovereign were, by one arbitrary act, in a single instant dissolved. Without stopping to dwell on the hackneyed topic of faded royalty, it must be confessed that a momentaneous reflection could not but come across the mind, on viewing the theatre of revolution in a country so subject to political change as Sweden; and a presentiment would occur of something that might befall hereafter.

We were received by the queen in the chapel, after divine service. The melancholy aspect of the court, in consequence of the death of the queen dowager, was fortunately relieved at this juncture by the tidings received from the army in Germany. A courier had arrived in the morning,

with the news of the great battle that had been fought at Leipsic, ending in the entire discomfiture of the army of Buonaparte. There seemed few exceptions to the general feeling of satisfaction which this intelligence diffused: though no one could venture to anticipate the glorious consequences to which such signal success eventually paved the way.

The account was not productive of less sincere joy in the city than in the palace. The orders issued for a general illumination were obeyed with alacrity, and preparations made that for such a place may be considered proud and sumptuous. Numerous transparencies were exhibited in the streets, fraught with divers allegorical ingenuities. Lernæan Hydras on the one side, and Polar stars on the other, were among the most favourite emblems. A spectator was not dazzled by London magnificence, or elbowed by a noisy mob; but the deficiencies of the one and the absence of the other were both amply compensated by the peculiarities of the situation of this scene. It will be impossible ever to erase from my recollection the splendour which the fairy islands of Stockholm reflected on the lake below, or the romantic effects of the cannonade, pealing from rock to rock; while every object around seemed to accord in still but pleasing harmony. Over the face even of the people themselves one spirit of tranquil gladness seemed to prevail; and they viewed the various novelties presented to their eyes with a sober and almost phlegmatical complacency.

Early in the course of this month the severity of the cold began to be felt, and the natives shrouded themselves in

their first surtouts for the winter. There are certain pleasures, notwithstanding, that accompany this season. The preceding week had been productive of a vast quantity of snow, and fortunately (being the necessary conditions for good *trainage)* it had fallen on a ground already hardened by frost. The atmosphere, disburdened of its load, immediately clears up, giving place to a settled state of weather. The sledges are brought out, the horses harnessed, and all the world, before so sluggish and inactive, at once is set in motion. Figures innumerable are seen gliding over the white carpet of snow, with a pace so quick and yet so silent, that it appears to a stranger as an exhibition of enchantment. The cart of the peasant, the carriage of the noble, shoot by swift as lightning: you hear nothing but the safety bell*, which tinkles in your ear as it passes, and declines in the distance, before you have yet well recognized its sound. The gladdening ray of a bright sun, and a sky perpetually serene, lend so pleasing a variety of colours to the view as would render a picture of Stockholm, in the month of November, one of the liveliest prospects in nature.

The evening entertainments now commence, as the chief families arrive from the country to winter in the metropolis. An early dinner, at two o'clock, or a profuse supper at ten, are the usual offers of Swedish hospitality: but neither are these private parties frequent, or the public

* The proprietors of horses that traverse the streets are obliged by law, in order to prevent accidents, to affix a bell on their collars, as a warning of their approach; so soft is their tread on the beaten snow.

amusements very numerous. An Italian opera-house, and a small Swedish theatre, alone, were open during our stay: for the company of French comedians, who had lately attracted so much notice, had been dismissed, by order of the Crown Prince. There were, however, several clubs and institutions. The first of these, the Society, or Helskapet, was regulated on the same plan as the clubs in London. The others were lodges, that held assemblies and balls at stated times; the Amaranth, the Innocence, the Narcissus, &c. The Amaranth is by far the most fashionable, and the best attended. There was formerly an order of knighthood, instituted by Queen Christina, under this title, to perpetuate the memory of her lover, Pontus de la Gardie; but having afterwards fallen into disuse, it has only been nominally revived in this shape by a company that established themselves about 70 years since. The ceremonials of inauguration are conducted with all the due forms of chivalry. On the ballot for a new member being declared, the elect is introduced by a lady, and a procession arrayed to the strains of solemn music: when this is concluded, she decorates him with the ribbon and insignia of the Amaranth, and he receives on his shoulder the sword of the president, who is usually one of the first officers of the state. The grand cordons, and grand crosses and collars, are distributed in profusion—mock honours*, that give, nevertheless, a strikingly

* The real orders of knighthood in Sweden are four: the Seraphims, the Polar Star, the Sword, and the G. Vasa. They are excellent rewards in the hands of a government that has not the means of recompensing merit by more substantial acts of compensation; but they are distributed somewhat lavishly; and of the order of the Sword alone are enrolled more than 1000 Chevaliers.

gay air to the whole assembly. In the midst (not the least conspicuous) shone the Marechalls of a late noble marriage, wearing, in similar knightly guise, the garters of the bride; which, according to custom, are the prize of those who light the bridegroom to his chamber on the nuptial night. But ceremonious decorations, so universal on the continent in general, are objects of a nature particularly captivating to the ostentatious mind of a Swede. At a meeting even of this description the full dress is ordinarily worn by all that are entitled to it; and exceptions can only be few, when the members of every rank and profession, from the officers of the crown to the Royal Academy of Artists, have their distinctive and appropriate uniform. The citizens, too, have their regular gala habit; a Spanish cloak and hose of black, not much differing in colour or shape from the common dress of the court. It is but fair to add that, among other accomplishments, they all dance extremely well, and in a style inferior perhaps only to the beau monde of Paris.

Among the lower classes the first indication of the approach of winter gives them the hint to lay up their stock of eatables for the frozen market; the provisions lasting, in a congealed state, unhurt during the whole season. They next pile their stocks of wood for firing, and light up the stove of their wooden cabin, that is never suffered to grow cool, or even to undergo ventilation, from this day till the arrival of the genial month of May.

One of the most pleasing sights of this time was the return of the seamen, discharged for the winter, to their

Bostellars, or apportionments of land. We saw a division of them on their march, carrying their families, with all their little store, in light Swedish waggons from the port to their homes: here they were housed, each with his hut and plot of ground, in separate ranges according to the gradation of their respective ranks; the habitation of the commander of the ship's company being placed in the centre of the permanent encampment. It is a mode of provision peculiar, I believe, to Sweden; and was made, during a former reign, by the application of certain lands of the crown to this purpose. The advantages of this plan of maintenance are extended to the army as well as the navy. The regiments of provincial militia are all supported in the same way; and these (if we except the artillery, and a few regiments of guards), form, in fact, the only standing force of the country.

We dedicated a few days, while the weather was yet supportable, to the inspection of the curiosities of Stockholm and its environs. The royal palace does not contain many other things which may be characterised as worthy of remark: still there are some good paintings, and a fine gallery of statues, chiefly antique, collected by the taste and munificence of Gustavus III. The Endymion is a *chef d'œuvre* of its kind. The Raphael china is of infinite value: but a splendid example of genius and talent misapplied.

Of the royal palaces in the neighbourhood, Drottningholm is the largest: it stands in an highly picturesque situation on the banks of the Mælar, and though not built in the first style of magnificence, yet fully answered the end

intended by its erection, which was to exhaust the treasures of the mother of Charles XI., since it was feared they might otherwise have been squandered in a less objectionable mode. The room where the late Gustavus Adolphus was confined, upon his removal by the conspirators from Stockholm, was shewn to us: he staid here no longer than one day, and was removed for the three succeeding months to Gripsholm, another royal seat on the Mæler, and about 20 miles distant from the capital.

This last castle has sometimes been not unaptly called "*La Maison de force des Rois de Suede:*" it was in former days the place of confinement of Eric XIV. and of John III., whose wretched cells in the round tower are now pointed out to the stranger: that of the latter is a small apartment encircled by a second wall within the round tower; the brick flooring was half worn through by the constant tread of the royal prisoner in the only spot where the coincidence of the windows afforded a direct opening to the realms of day; and seemed, by this mark yet remaining, to bring all the irksomeness of captivity in the most forcible manner before our eyes. But his crimes merited (if possible) a more severe retribution.

Haga is a small elegant pavilion, the favourite retreat of Gustavus III., situated within one mile of Stockholm, and surrounded, as is the general fashion, with gardens *à l'Anglaise.*

If it were needful, however, to enter into description, the arsenal, the depot of the trophies of the Swedish wars;

the Maison des Nobles (House of Peers) filled with the escutcheons of all the first families of the country; or the royal cemetery in the Riddarholmen church would afford ample materials, but these may be considered as objects rather interesting personally to a traveller, than as fit to be given in detail here.

To pass on to another point connected with the general spirit of improvement which we have already noticed, it may be worth while briefly to touch upon the state of the fine arts in this northern metropolis.

Music is by no means neglected, though very few of the old national airs are now to be met with. The comic opera of Frigga, and the collection of songs named Fredman's Epistlar, contain almost the only examples. But the generally prevailing taste for the Italian style has banished every other idea, and their native composers would be but little esteemed, if they did not conform to the fashion. It is to be lamented that they should not have persevered in a line which might place higher attainments within their reach, as well as entitle them to greater claims of originality; instead of this, they yield to the seduction of a foreign style, meriting certainly its reputation from the high pitch of excellence to which it has been advanced, yet (it should at the same time be remembered) that, in point of exquisite feeling and high wrought melody, it is never heard in full perfection unless on Italian ground.

As to painting, we must forbear to speak of those branches of art where the higher powers of genius are called

for; but in such as are purely imitative in their nature, we must allow that the Swedes display no mean share of talent.

Falcrantz, as a painter of landscape, stands the first in reputation, and, indeed, may fairly be ranked among the best artists of the present day. He is almost self-taught, formed by a judicious course of observation, under the guidance of an excellent judgment and an accurate eye for colour. His principles of composition were chiefly gleaned from prints, and his fancy pictures shew a high degree of excellence in this particular: perhaps he is not quite so successful in the application of his rules to the combinations of real landscape; far however be it from any one to detract by trivial points of criticism from the merits of a person that deserves so greatly the patronage of his country and the admiration of the art in general. It is to be hoped he will one day improve still more in technical knowledge, as well as enlarge the sphere of his acquaintance with the world by visiting those rare and precious collections that are now scattered throughout the cities of Europe, and which make foreign travelling, according to the present mode of study, so necessary a point of education to a painter.

It is not enough in modern days that a man should design and execute with taste and spirit; our ideas of excellence are formed on certain fixed models, and our prejudices are become by association so strong, that any recent production, whatever its intrinsic merit, is disregarded, if it does not savour in some respect of the style of the old masters. Nor is this a mere outcry of fashion, but

a fictitious feeling which has grown upon us by habit, till it has entirely overpowered the natural bias of our minds. The arts, we say, are lost to our days, that is, they have flourished in times past, and for this very reason they never will or can attain again the same degree of excellence. The great masters of the several old schools of painting have left nothing to their successors but imitation: and the necessity of following the beaten track lays a restraint on the efforts even of the most daring, and effectually suppresses the experimental ardour of native genius.

Raffaelle, Poussin, &c. it will be said, founded their notions on the works of others, and studied deeply the models of excellence which the ancients had left behind them. This is true; but chiefly examples of sculpture, a branch requiring a totally different application of talent; their style, therefore, did not partake of the nature of precise and mechanical imitation, but was rather formed by the deduction of certain general principles that developed themselves amidst the productions of their mighty predecessors, and which a strong faculty of discrimination enabled them to bend and adapt to their own use.

In another point of view we ought not to regret that the art itself has arrived at this point of its progress; all the moral advantages held out from its study are to be gained by pursuing it under these circumstances: while its utility is finally more widely spread, because its exercise is more universally attainable; and it is with this view alone it can ever be successfully cultivated in Sweden.

The great works of genius are but the ornaments and decorations of the art in general, objects that give a grace and dignity to it abstractedly in itself; but to rival whose rank of excellence is by no means requisite at this day to advance the chief ends of its pursuit.

The collections of pictures in the country are not numerous; the only private ones of note are those of Count Brahe, the Baron de Geer, and Mr. de Wahrendorf; so that, notwithstanding the liberal spirit with which these noble personages display their treasures, foreign travel becomes doubly necessary to a Swedish artist. The late king, whom some call *Gustaf Adolf den liten* (or Gustavus Adolphus the little) favoured Falcrantz with his advice on this point; and, in furtherance of his recommendation that he should make the grand tour of Europe, presented him with a donation from his royal purse, of a draft for no less a sum than 200 R. D. B., about 30*l.* sterling. We may hope that a provision more suitable to the purpose will be afforded by the Crown Prince, who is possessed of the same spirit of zealous admiration for the arts, which appeared to characterise all the members of the late French government.

Among the sculptors, the name of Sergel (il Michel Ange du Nord) has long been justly celebrated: his workshop abounds with models of beauty and grace, executed with a spirit of taste and fidelity that deserves the highest encomium. The Cupid and Psyche, Mars and Venus, &c. are to be ranked among the most elegant examples of the

beau ideal: but this is a lofty walk of art, and, I must confess, they seemed to me to lack something of the Promethean fire.

There is no country in Europe which, in proportion to her numbers, has contributed so largely to the advancement of science as Sweden, and none where it is still more steadily and successfully pursued. We met several of the most distinguished characters at the evening parties of Herr Edelcrantz *, president of the Board of Commerce, whose house is the focus of literature at Stockholm.

An introduction to Professor Berzelius was not among the least of the advantages we owed to the president's kindness: he is a person well known in the annals of chymistry, and that has lately gained additional renown from his indefatigable researches in illustration of the theory of definite proportions. It would be presumptuous, however, to speak

* Herr Edelcrantz was a native of Finland, much patronised by Gustavus III. to whom he owes his chief honours. He unites to his other accomplishments that of great mechanical ingenuity, of which we saw several specimens: he had made some improvements in the steam-engine; a second barometer, with a comparative scale, was added to the steam gauge, in order to shew the variation of the pressure of the atmosphere, which may affect the instrument of measure to the amount of one-seventh. He had also made a self-regulating door to confine the heat of the fire when increasing too fast. This steam-engine was employed in working a corn-mill, and there was no part but was converted to use in his admirable establishment: on mounting to the upper story we were shewn an ingenious apparatus for making pearl-barley; in another part was the chimney of the fire, within this was a machine for drying corn; an iron cylinder containing a spiral chamber, through which the grain was passed by a regular rotatory motion, and there subjected to the moderate action of the heat of the air in its passage upwards.

even in praise of the scientific acquirements of such a man. But I felt happy and proud to cultivate the acquaintance of one. so much beloved in general, and who proved as estimable in private life as respected in the world of letters.

At the same place we fell in with Professor Schwartz, one of the most celebrated writers of the Flora Indiana Occidentalis, and were afterwards indebted to him for a sight of the Cabinet of Natural History. A general description of this collection would require the pen of a skilful naturalist; and as to the indigenous productions of Sweden, they have been already too well detailed in books of science to admit of the cursory observations of a traveller. It was impossible, however, not to be struck with a specimen that was pointed out to our notice of the food of the peasantry during a hard season in many of the provinces. It was a cake from Dalecarlia, made of the bark of trees: the birch is the most common in use, while that of the pine is held luxurious and dainty fare; but to procure a little rye-flour and add it to this wretched mixture, is an happiness that falls to the lot of few indeed. The inner bark or parenchyma is applied to this purpose; it is simply macerated in water, ground up, and formed into cakes of the consistence of a wafer; their taste is slightly bitter, but seemed, I thought, by no means less palatable than the coarse leaven bread of rye made with old sour yeast, which generally may be called the "staff of life" even throughout the more fertile parts of Sweden.

The use of so poor a diet in a climate that requires the

most nutritious regimen is attended with its inconveniencies: the rustic peasants in general, though large and bony, are of a spare habit, and on the smallest alteration or improvement of their food, are subjected to severe attacks of plethora. Many of these poor creatures do not survive their first visit to Stockholm, where, when they are ill of a surfeit, their disease is usually called the *Dalecarlian malady*, from its prevalence among that people: this complaint, indeed, seizes upon them in so great numbers, as to give an idea to the vulgar of its being contagious, and one frequently hears, as the phrase is, that it is "going about."

A remarkable instance occurred in 1788, when the Jemtland regiment of militia was ordered to do duty in the capital: the men had not long been settled in their quarters before a violent mortality broke out, and increased to so alarming an extent, that enquiry became necessary. After due attention to the subject, a medical report was prepared, which attributed the mischief entirely to the nature of the soldiers' food; its quality, though they partook of no higher luxuries than wheaten bread and a little meat, was yet too strong and nutritious for stomachs accustomed to other fare; and a coarser aliment in consequence prescribed. An inferior bread was then baked for the regiment, adulterated to the requisite degree of meagerness and indigestibility, and a strict attention enforced to the poverty of the rest of their diet. Upon this the stomachs of that hardy race soon regained their former tone; the num-

ber of deaths gradually diminished, and in a few weeks the sick list was entirely clear.

Although it is asserted that some years back a considerable export trade in grain was carried on from the ports of Sweden, yet their present growth falls far short of the ordinary demand of home consumption. Since, however, Esthonia, Livonia, and Finland, that were once her granaries, have been successively wrested from her grasp, necessity has turned the attention of the nation towards other sources of supply; and they have begun to learn that industry at home may not only afford them a compensation for their losses, but place their dependance on a footing less precarious, and more conducive in itself to the general prosperity of the country.

I inspected the rental of a well-managed estate not very distant from Stockholm, which then yielded more than double the amount of its produce in the year 1805; though fewer labourers were stated to be employed in its cultivation. The agriculture was carried on in the English system, and much money had been laid out in its improvement; yet in no one year was a sum expended greater than its annual income. It is not meant to draw a general conclusion from a particular fact; but it is the opinion of those best informed on this subject, that if the present zeal for improvement* continue, Sweden will be enabled in fifteen or

* The farmers affirm that certain atmospherical changes have taken place of late years, and that they cannot depend on the same signs as indications of the

twenty years to supply herself with grain from her own soil.

The crops within the last four years on an average, taken throughout Sweden, give a proportional improvement of 5·0, as may be seen by the table* annexed: a further proof of what may be effected on a soil hitherto stigmatised as barren may be drawn from the fact, that in three of the provinces bordering on Stockholm, the additional stimulus afforded to the exertion of the husbandman has carried this increase to 6·2, and in some parts even to 6·7.

Our next enquiry must regard the number of inhabitants of the country: we shall find, on inspection, it is not such as poets relate, "the populous teeming North "once poured from her frozen loins," but a meagre population, thinly scattered over an immeasurable tract of land. The difficulty of rearing children in a climate where the

weather, which formerly answered that purpose. The draining of land and clearing of forests has not been carried on to such extent that it should be assumed as the cause: and it must be observed, that the Aurora Borealis, once so commonly seen in these parts, has not appeared here more than once in the last eight years: it is now, I believe, equally rare in the parallel latitudes of Scotland.

*	Sq. Miles Swedish.	Population.	Proportion of those living in towns to those in the country, are as 10 to	Mortality, one in	Annual increase in 100 persons.	Cultivated ground to the waste as one to	Spans of seed sown.	Return in span-measure: each span being two bushels three quarts Eng.	Proportion for each person.	Increase of corn in four years.
Norrland	2061	159,100	240	47	1·5	915	49,683	245,998	1·2	4·9
Svealand	917·15	890,457	63	40	0·6	45	359,091	2,009,017	1·9	5·6
Götaland	807·6	1,364,583	116	40	0·7	20	731,791	3,204,184	1·9	4·5
Lakes	85·2									
Total	3870·95	2,414,140	92	43	0·8	62	1,140,565	5,459,199	1·8	5·0

The above is taken from Akrell's survey, published in 1811.

most robust alone can survive the tender years of infancy, materially diminishes this source of national prosperity; and the augmentation is said to proceed only at the slow rate of 0.8 annually in every hundred, or eight persons for a thousand.

The constant drain upon mortality in Sweden (for it is stated at a greater proportion than in the annexed table) does not pass unnoticed by the celebrated author of the Essay on Population: he thinks "the continual cry of the "government for an increase of subjects tends to press the "population too hard against the limits of subsistence," and that hence arises the evil complained of. It is nevertheless probable, that more obvious and natural causes might be assigned; and I would venture to assert, that under no circumstances of encouragement whatever, though the means of support were multiplied to the utmost extent, could this country ever become populous. He recommends to them an improved system of agriculture, such as has been adopted since the period of his visit; but blames severely the Swedish government for their injudicious erection of lying-in and foundling hospitals, inasmuch as by promoting vicious habits, their real effect is to check instead of promoting the main-spring of population. The principle is, no doubt, abstractedly true; but in that particular stage of population and condition of society under which Sweden now exists the case is altered, and arguments that might be justly urged with regard to London or Paris may yet be inapplicable here.

Mr. Malthus's great and important theory must be con-

sidered as an outline that is to be perfected and filled up hereafter: its primary principles are no more to be reasoned upon with a view to practical purposes in detail, than the naked theorems of mechanics or any other branch of mathematical science are to be acted upon as producing the same result in theory and experiment. The accompaniment of circumstances must never be neglected in the calculation of one case more than the other: and if all the fundamental doctrines of the Essay on Population were to be considered and modified with this aim, it would put a stop to the frequent citation of crude and undigested arguments that the half-learned daily bring forward from a treatise, which was intended by its author, no doubt, for far other and more noble purposes.

The Board of Agriculture, of which the Crown Prince is president, has applied itself with great assiduity, inciting as well as directing the labours of the husbandman, and making the occupation of farming not a pleasure alone, but gilding it with the name of a fashionable recreation in the eyes of the wealthier classes of society. The attention of his royal highness was at an early period called to this subject: he had witnessed a very severe year of scarcity during his abode in Sweden, and to alleviate its immediate pressure, had been induced to expend the greater part of his private fortune in the purchase of foreign corn. Nor was this all; but amidst the urgency and distress of that necessitous period, he drew schemes of improvement for the future. "Born in the camp," said he in his speech to the

board, " I yet know well how to appreciate the art of agri-
" culture and the toil of the husbandman.—We know that
" Sweden has an extent equal to that of old France, though
" she possesses not more than a tenth part of her popu-
" lation. To the labours of cultivation, therefore, must
" our exertions continually be directed. With the brave
" Swedes, my companions in arms, you shall be protected
" from every foreign enemy, while the fruits of the harvest
" shall be gathered in security and tranquillity." It was one proof of his earnest attention to these concerns, that at the conference at Abo he procured a promise from the emperor of Russia of some select stallions, from the different breeds of horses, which are scattered in the provinces of that empire: the stud, about 60 in number, arrived in the course of this month at Stockholm, all of which were intended to be distributed as presents to gentlemen residing in the country, on condition of their affording certain accommodation to their neighbours. They were of a shewy exterior, and beautiful contour, probably not ill suited to cross with the native Swedes, which are clever active horses, their loins strong, their limbs well knit, but though possessing many excellent points, yet small in stature, and without any pretension to elegance of figure.

In considering the value of landed property, the importable produce, that in many cases forms nearly the whole revenue, must not be omitted. Those who go by the name of merchants at Stockholm are in fact only commissioners or agents in a concern where the landholders

themselves are the *bonâ fide* dealers. It is a wholesale traffic that is carried on. They send out timber, pitch, copper, pig iron, &c., and only very few wrought articles, except pieces of heavy ordnance, sheet-anchors, or things of that nature. Manufactories, as has been before said, cannot, in the present state of Sweden, flourish to any great degree. They are insufficient in number and activity to be able to meet the demand at home, and utterly unfit, in point of the quality of their goods, to stand any competition with those from abroad. It is singular that the making up pig iron (notwithstanding the numerous mines in Sweden) was not practised until the sixteenth century; the ore being constantly exported, and returned in the shape of metal: a circumstance from which we should be inclined to draw an inference somewhat unfavourable to the general encouragement of manufacturing establishments in this country.

The adoption of strict regulations at the custom-house is in some sort necessary, under the prevalent European system of commercial jealousy: but by prohibiting, in one sweeping clause, the introduction of new-made articles, the government holds out too great a stimulus to the activity of the smuggler, and in the end cheats itself of one of the most productive branches of revenue: for, in spite of the laws, English articles of every description are to be found in every shop at the capital; where a certain enhancement in price, from the increased difficulty of importation, is the only effect produced.

When the call for foreign articles is so great, and the objects of export so few, it must appear singular to be told, in the official reports, that the balance of trade is in favour of

Sweden: but such an assertion is no novelty. Almost every nation publicly notifies the same result of their annual examinations: so that one would be inclined to believe all the world were gainers alike. The fallacy arises, not only from the incorrect statements of the custom-house, which fall short from the above cause, but from a confusion of the nominal prices of foreign articles here with those they bear in the country from whence they come.

The apparently high value of money in Sweden is a matter of great importance to her, as an improving nation; especially with regard to the encouragement of her export trade: but at the same time it affords us a sure criterion of the actual poverty of the nation. Every article of life is cheap, and the private fortunes of individuals are at a low estimation, in comparison with their average amount in the rest of Europe. 70,000 R. D. B. (or 10,000*l.*) is reported to be the income of the first landed proprietor in Sweden; and there is scarcely an instance of a much larger annual profit being realised in trade. Being engaged, however, in a question of this sort, it is fair to add that the prices of articles have risen very much of late, and in a greater proportion than the slight and temporary depreciation of the paper money can serve to account for. The increase of the price of one *tunna* of grain in two years, taken at an interval of six, was as follows.

	Rye.		Barley.	
	R. D. B.	Sch.	R. D. B.	Sch.
1805	4	36	3	28
1811	8	12	6	4

* The capacity of the tunna has been mistaken by a late learned traveller in Sweden: it equals four bushels five quarts Winchester measure.

But on taking the average crops for the last ten years, the increase* of prices appears to have been progressive in a ratio of four to nine, and the scale of things, in general, has been similarly enhanced. We must congratulate the country, I believe, on this sign of increasing wealth.

Of another circumstance, nevertheless, the possession of an inconvertible medium of circulation, which many writers hail with the same tone of exultation, I may at least venture to say, that it is a most equivocal symptom of prosperity; but one which has long ago made its appearance in Sweden.

The first paper note bears the date of 1717, being stamped in the reign of Charles XII.; though it was not till the year 1789, upon the embarrassments succeeding the first war of Finland, that gold and silver began to grow really scarce; and some years after that time, the continued demand for specie, which was created throughout

* I have seen a table, comparing the prices of corn in different years, between the London and Stockholm markets, with the medium of the Hamburg exchange: it is singular that they varied nearly in corresponding proportions.

Rate of exchange, Jan. 7, 1814.

	R. D. B. Sch.	
London	7 40	for £1
Petersburg	20	for 1 rouble paper.

Prices of articles.

	R. D. B. Sch.		s.	d.
Day labour	32	=	2	0
Fuel for fire for a week	32	=	2	0
Hot meats each plate	8	=	0	4
Bourdeaux wine	2 24	=	4	6

Landed estate of 10,000 acres near Helsinburg, valued at 60,000*l.* sterling.

Europe, entirely exhausted the remaining stock. This took place much about the same period that guineas were discovered in England to be "an unnecessary incumbrance:" the system, however, is more perfect here, for literally nothing but the base metal copper is ever seen in circulation. It is worthy of remark, that the golden ducat, bearing the king's stamp, may be purchased at the Bank for the market price of gold, because silver, as was before stated, is the standard of the currency fixed by law. The credit of their paper money is good at home, having suffered no other depreciation than that which is become general throughout Europe, arising from the increased demand for the precious metals; and in consequence of this, certain restrictions have been laid down by government, which prevent the Bank from answering calls for payment in cash. The national establishment is a Bank of deposit, founded in 1657, upon the plan of Palmstruck, a Livonian: it is placed under the administration of all the estates of the realm, except that of the peasants, who formally refused to participate the charge.

Their issues are made upon certain depositable securities, such as iron, timber, goods, &c.; houses and land being never accepted, since, if seized in case of default, the return is too slow to admit a sufficient profit to be realised. There is an office also where bills are discounted, in which some of the managers of the Bank have the chief share; but as more risk is incurred, it is a distinct concern, and constitutes no part of the national establishment.

It was not without some feeling of surprise, that an Englishman at Stockholm listened to a conversation upon detail points of political matter, and especially such as now occurred: the restrictions of the Bank, the daily increasing prices of things, the exclusion of Roman Catholics from a seat in the Diet, or the severity of the penal code. They were not made the subject of speculation in a review or a gazette; they were not hawked about by loungers in the streets, or commented upon by the clamorous orators of an evening forum. Nevertheless, these topics were occasionally brought on the table, and always treated with that dignity and decorum, which those who are really interested in their subject can never cease to feel. The three former exist, in fact, beyond a doubt; but as to any complaint on the last mentioned circumstance, whatever may be the literal ordinance of the law, its practical severity is little or none: and the necessary arbitrary power, which is entrusted to their judicial magistrates, is administered (it is impossible to say more) as in England itself.

The mode of punishment differs from our own: for a common misdemeanour, the offender is mounted astride a wooden horse, and exposed to the derision of the populace: formerly with a pair of heavy weights attached to his legs, like the punishment lately discarded from our regiments of dragoons. For petty offences, public whipping with rods at the Treska is awarded to either sex indiscriminately. For robbery on the highway, or for house-breaking, the culprits are sentenced to be hung, and in case of murder they

are always beheaded. The right, however, of making three separate appeals to the superior courts, which is granted in civil causes, is extended also to the criminal; and what may be reckoned a still more extraordinary provision, no man can suffer death according to his sentence, until he has made an actual confession of his crime. This apparent act of lenity had its origin in a most unmerciful custom, for torture was anciently employed to extort the necessary avowal, and Gustavus III. having abolished that iniquitous practice, the remaining clauses of the law were left, I imagine, unaltered.

Nov. 17.—The example of an execution, when after some weeks the necessary admission of the crime had been made, happened to take place in the month of November. The offender was an Italian, who murdered his companion, in consequence of a violent quarrel at cards: he had repeated the blow five and twenty times, following his unfortunate victim from room to room, and therefore no plea of sudden passion was admissible in mitigation. It was two years since the spectacle of such a punishment had been witnessed at Stockholm, and on the appointed morning an immense crowd was assembled, notwithstanding the extreme rigour* of the season. Two file of armed soldiers (from the regiment of the police) with their officer, who superintended the execution, were stationed in attendance at the prison door; for such is the fashion of the

* The mercury stood at — 17° Celsius, or + 2 Fahrenheit.

country. However enormous the custom may seem in the eyes of an Englishman, the same must be said to be the practice of all European nations, I believe, except ourselves: those delicacies of British liberty, that forbid the agency of the military to put in force the awards of the civil power, are not points intelligible to the patriotic sensibility of any but our own countrymen.

At nine o'clock, the gates were unbarred, and the culprit walked forth with a crucifix and beads in his hand, (for he was a papist) accompanied by a French priest: the procession, moving slowly up the street, passed the Stadt Huset, where a glass of wine was presented him, according to ancient custom: some support, indeed, seemed necessary, as the distance from the prison to his place of destination was upwards of two English miles. In about half an hour's time the fatal spot appeared: in the middle of a spacious amphitheatre of rocks stood a low circular tower, surmounted with a triple gallows; below was a wooden scaffold with a few fir boughs scattered about, encircled by a range of soldiers. Being arrived within the ring, he cast a look around, and for a moment fixed his eyes on the block: the priest recalled his thoughts that seemed to wander, and holding up the cross, besought him with earnestness to join in prayer; he then received solemn absolution, again confessing his guilt, and expressing a hope that his voluntary submission to punishment might be accepted, in some sort, as an atonement for his crime. A little chorus of Catholic orphans, whom the Abbé had

brought up, kneeling around him, commenced the chaunt of a sacred hymn.—" *Allons depechons,*" said the police officer, with a fierceness that disgraced humanity—" We have no time to lose."—The man of authority was obeyed —the hymn ceased; and the unfortunate offender instantly undressed. He tied a bandage round his eyes with a firm hand.—" Now," said he, " I am ready, lead " on:" he marched steadily forward and mounted the scaffold—All was silence—" Stay awhile, let me pray " alone;"—He knelt down and stretched forth his hands for a few seconds to heaven, then clasping them over his head, threw himself on the fatal billet: at that instant the axe fell; but the blow was ill directed, and the body shrunk back: again the axe was reared in the air covered with gore—and yet a third time. A scene like this is too horrible a piece of butchery to admit of description: even Swedish phlegm was moved to murmur at the sight.

The just discrimination of national character is a task of infinite difficulty: it is denied to the native from prejudice, to the resident from too great familiarity, to the visitor from too little means of observation; it is imperious, therefore, on every one to contribute whatsoever he may be able towards the illustration of such a point, and to leave it to those persons who may succeed better in forming abstract views on the subject.

This nation has its singularities: and if, as philosophers tell us, the chill of a northern climate tinges the minds and manners of the inhabitants with an unimpassioned species

of reserve, it is certain that there exists something of a reciprocity between the moral and physical constitution of Sweden. Rigidly ceremonious, they make their stiff and measured courtesies the essentials rather than the forms of life, and seem, in a stranger's eye, a people cold in their nature as the very snows they dwell upon. Their characteristics, a passive courage not unmixed with indolence; a pride, not free from ignorance; a disposition, that is not ill-humoured from having no humour at all, from indifference—from apathy.

But a Swede is never in extremes: even these traits are not deeply marked, and if we review the more favourable side of his character, we shall find in him an undaunted spirit of perseverance, and an honest love of freedom, to which the feelings of every one does homage; and I may truly affirm that no traveller passes from their shores but he quits them with regret, and ever afterwards takes the strongest interest in whatever tidings he may hear that concerns the welfare of the nation. In the higher classes the mind is necessarily tempered by the grace and fashion of society, and there are many whom private sentiments of respect would lead me at all times to acknowledge with warm expressions of gratitude, and to recall with peculiar pleasure many a happy hour I have spent at Stockholm.

But we must not look for traces of national character in assemblies of this description; it is rather among the middle and inferior ranks that we see the "mirror held up to nature." The members of polished society throughout

Europe are, in all essential points, nearly alike in manner, in sentiment, in morals; save only that some allowances should be made for the different temperament produced by the influence of a voluptuous southern climate.

With regard to their inattention to this very point the Swedes are chiefly to blame. They aim at the imitation of a peculiar style of refinement, which is not congenial to their constitution. French or Italian manners and customs are introduced to the drawing-room, and even to the nursery; while persons in a lower condition of life seek apishly enough to follow the example of their superiors. So far was the principle of schooling carried, that previous to the French revolution, a Swedish regiment was constantly maintained at a large expense in the French capital, whence they returned to Stockholm with a large assortment of phrases and forms of courtesy.

If this people must imitate, they should seek examples better suited to their nature; morality and manners are soon confounded; and the introduction of such as the above is an engrafting of incompatibles, that must produce only the cold debauchery and deadly poison of viciousness, without engendering that lively feeling and open generosity of sentiment which tempers vice itself with at least a palliative, and perhaps a corrective power.

For a further illustration of character, it is fair to recur to the developement of public sentiment which is manifested on great occasions; and refer to historical facts in support of the argument. We shall observe, in spite

of their cold-blooded obduracy, or perhaps arising from this very cause, a sanguinary turn of mind to have been predominant here from early times. There was a *précis* of the Swedish annals lately published, whose title was not ill imagined, "*Swenska Konungars olycks Oden,*" (Calamities arrive to the kings of Sweden); and it must be confessed, it contains a catalogue of horrors beyond compare: few were the monarchs of this country that were not either killed or forcibly dethroned: and since the two last reigns have afforded each an example of its kind, one must be permitted to hope that their names will close the list.

The story of a recent murder might be added (not indeed of one possessing royal dignity) but who merited a rank among the first of his country for birth, for talents, and for rare accomplishments. The assassination of Count Fersen, both from its manner and nature, is an act that would stain the foulest page of history.

It was on the occasion of the sudden death of Prince Augustenberg, the late Crown Prince, that a thousand rumours and conjectures arose on the cause of so unexpected a catastrophe. A physician was sent to examine his body in Schonen, where the accident happened. Upon his arrival there, he found an inspection had already taken place by some of the faculty from Lund, and the contents of the stomach were unfortunately thrown away. The official paper, therefore, stated his full confidence in the relation which had been made to him, but that he could not sanction the report with his name.

Murmurs in the mean time daily grew more loud and violent at the capital; suspicions that are not even yet forgotten were attached to those whose rank and eminence alone made them obnoxious to attack. The unfortunate nobleman above-mentioned, his sister, Countess Piper, and even the queen herself, became the object of execration with the ignorant and misguided multitude.

The friends of Fersen, aware of the state of the public mind, repeatedly admonished him to avoid appearing in public, but to no avail: presuming on the consciousness of his innocence, he resolved not to neglect his last duty to the remains of the prince, and took his place in the funeral procession as it entered the streets of Stockholm. No disposition to riot was any where displayed until the hearse reached the Maison des Nobles, when a party from amidst the crowd of spectators rushed upon the count and dragged him from his horse; sticks, umbrellas, and whatever other articles were at hand, were converted by their fury into weapons of assassination; and in one short half hour he was no more. Singular to relate, all this passed without interruption, at an early hour in the evening: the guard was on duty at the palace; the police-office hard by; the intended murder had been publicly talked of; and when actually committed, every one seemed amazed and astonished: but no one was punished, or was any enquiry made; all that is said is, that some people of a decent condition of life were supposed to be concerned in the perpetration of the bloody deed.

It might be added, that the same notoriety as to the intentions of the conspirators preceded the assassination of Gustavus the Third: the time, the place, all was known and made the subject of conversation at Stockholm. The king himself, who thought to overawe the conspirators by boldly facing their treasonous attempts, was aware also of all these circumstances.

The plot carried on against the late king, Gustavus Adolphus, was in like manner made public beforehand, but his acts of folly had justly excited the general execration against him; still it is surprising that greater secrecy should not have been requisite for the execution of a plot against the sovereign. Except the quiet substitution of one emperor or empress for another, which sometimes has occurred at Petersburg, I know of nothing parallel in history: but in Russia the people are not parties concerned, the affair resembles the transfer of a private right; here the case is different, and admits of no excuse for such insensibility.

But it is time to return to that point of our story which gave origin to this digression. Upon the death of Prince Augustenberg a diet was immediately ordered to be convened, and public attention was universally turned to the great object that had devolved to their charge. The remembrance of the former glory of Sweden, the sense of their recent misfortunes, and the threatening situation which Russia held from the possession of Finland, made the nation almost unanimous in the wish to select a man of military talents. It was natural at this epoch, therefore, to

turn their eyes towards France. The French officers were for the most part in disrepute from the tyranny which they had exercised, and seemed disqualified to fulfil the duties of government; but it so happened that Bernadotte's administration of the district entrusted to his charge, together with his consequent removal from that command for his lenity and humanity, had become lately a general subject of encomium in the North of Germany. Bernadotte, moreover, had been personally made known to General Essen, General Wrede, and many other Swedish officers of distinction, at the time of the capture of Lubec in the Prussian war. He had exerted his influence with Buonaparte to procure an armistice for the troops; and every individual concerned felt grateful for his friendly zeal. Thus far he was befriended by a happy concurrence of circumstances; it still remained, however, for those who wished him well to interest the people in his behalf; and they too had heard at least of his military character and renown.

The project of putting him in nomination for the vacant dignity was first only canvassed among a small party including the above personages, but they soon opened a correspondence on the subject with some young Swedes who chanced to be resident in Paris, and while as yet the scheme was in embryo, the young Count Mörner waited on Bernadotte in person, and made him acquainted with their wishes. He received such an answer as might have been expected, and the party at Stockholm being apprised of his concurrence, redoubled their exertions.

National animosity against the Danes, as well as the disadvantageous competition of personal merit, made the cause of the Prince of Denmark daily grow unpopular, and the officious zeal of his emissaries served only to promote the cause of Bernadotte. By the time that the Diet assembled, the House of Nobles had been almost wholly gained over; but the three other houses were still uncertain; to prevent any disturbance, therefore, in case of an equal division of the four, several precautionary steps were adopted. A committee of sixteen was delegated from each, with whom the final decision was to rest. It was much to be wished that recourse to this measure should not be rendered necessary: a question of such importance ought to be carried by the full concurrence of the assembly; and to compass that end, every spring was set in motion. The day of election arrived. The nobles, conscious of their secret agency, were unwilling to be the first to declare their voice in public: they protracted their debate for upwards of an hour with much feigned earnestness, when, to their inexpressible delight, a deputy arrived from the House of Peasants, to inform them that their choice had fallen on Bernadotte: the House of the Clergy and that of the Burghers followed with acclamations. The Nobles closed the scene. The election was then publicly proclaimed, and a courier instantly dispatched to carry the intelligence to France.

It may here be fairly asked whether Buonaparte had any influence in the decision of this election: the story

above recited is sufficient to induce one to suppose him unconnected with any part of the transaction. It is besides well known that he at one moment actually refused his permission to the field marshal to accept the offer of the Swedes, because he had professed himself unwilling to give any pledge on the subject of the continental system; and in the end Bernadotte received a reluctant consent, and this only upon the ground that he should trust to his honour for the fulfilment of the part Sweden must take in the grand plan for the salvation of Europe. He bowed and retired.

In addition to this, one might venture to assert, that having incurred Buonaparte's displeasure at Wagram, and been since left unemployed, he was the last person on whom the king-maker would willingly have wished to confer this dignity. He had subsequently been in command at Antwerp; but it was the act of a volunteer, as being resident at Paris when the news arrived of the landing of the English in Holland; and even here he was soon superseded.

It was a French faction that introduced him to Sweden, no doubt, as the higher classes are generally known to possess a strong attachment to that nation; but the party was totally uninfluenced by the intercession or even will of Buonaparte.

The election being officially made known to him at Paris, the marshal changed his uniform for that of a Swedish nobleman, and with the same happy facility abjured the Catholic for the Lutheran faith; then set out without loss of time on

his journey to Elsineur; from thence he was conveyed by a formal deputation of nobles, senators, &c. to the seat of Mr. Wahrendorf, in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, where he remained a few days.

His first object at the capital was a private visit to the king and queen, his adoptive parents, who received him with great cordiality. On the following day he made his public entry, and was introduced at court with the honours due to his new rank.

Three days were devoted to public reception at the palace, and fêtes prepared of the most splendid description. The first day was chiefly occupied by presentations; on the second was exhibited a theatrical spectacle, where persons of high rank in the country sustained the several parts of the drama: on the third a grand ball was given, that was enlivened by the introduction of an allegorical device much admired for its ingenuity.

The company were variously engaged, when on a sudden a bevy of ladies enter the room performing a national dance, and dressed "*à la bergere Suedoise:*" while every eye is turned towards them, a set of young cavaliers appear habited "*à la mode Française:*" they accost the Swedish damsels, are received with great complaisance, and after a short parley they join in the dance together, chanting strains of fidelity and pastoral love.

The fêtes were succeeded by the presentation of the deputies from the several provinces, who came with congratulatory addresses to his royal highness. Of all these,

that of the Laplanders (who came somewhat later in the year) was the most remarkable. Their diminutive stature, their costume of fur, their ten small sledges each drawn by rein-deer, parading round the area of the palace, must have displayed a spectacle of a novel kind to a native of Gascogne.

With regard to home policy, no great changes were deemed necessary on this occasion; the diet of 1809 had revised the articles of the constitution, and nothing was required to be done at their present session but the introduction of the French conscription, which the Crown Prince earnestly solicited. Being foreign to the tenor of the Swedish laws, it was no easy point for him to gain, and he awaited the decision of the houses with considerable anxiety: on the arrival of the officer who informed him the bill had passed, he sprang from his seat, and embraced him eagerly, exclaiming, *c'est fait—nous sommes independans.* The expression will be held equivocal by some people, but we should add that it was the cause of the nation which his words alluded to, and subsequent events have proved the truth of his views.

The stipulations of this law included young men of every rank indiscriminately, between the ages of twenty and twenty-five, placing at the disposal of the crown a force of about 80,000: only two of these years were afterwards put in training, and to judge from the usual bounty given at this time for a substitute (100 R. D. B.) it cannot be considered as a measure that may be called oppressive in its

operation; notwithstanding which it excited some rebellious tumults among the peasantry in the provinces lying to the south of Stockholm.

The class of the commonalty were those that had least real ground of complaint; the law might be looked upon as a sort of constitutional victory on their part over the higher privileged orders, rather than as an infraction on the rights of the lower. The nobility previous to this day were not personally liable to serve, neither was it without much opposition on their parts that so sweeping a clause was carried. This concession once made, led the way to the abolishment of a second exemption not less iniquitous in its principle than the former; and before the diet dispersed, the nobles subjected themselves also to the burden of taxation, anticipating by a voluntary act what must otherwise sometime have been extorted by harsher means, and conceding to public feeling a point, whose relinquishment a few years back would have been branded as the basest dereliction of duty.

Soldiers were formerly raised by a levy on the several districts in the usual proportion of one from each Hemman*, and from hence arose a new difficulty in framing the conscription act. The lands now held of the crown, and some of those formerly annexed to it, were by the old law freed from this onus. Such an immunity was not now to be endured; yet it was unfair to abolish this privilege without affording some

* The ordinary extent of an Hemman is under 30 acres.

compensation. The ministers therefore proposed that in alleviation of the new change, the quota of recruits levied on these estates should be commutable at the pleasure of the proprietor for a certain charge not exceeding five *barils* of corn each man; but the diet was now filled with projects of equalisation, and returning their answer by a direct negative, the question was carried as before stated.

It has been often said, from these circumstances taking place soon after his arrival, that the Crown Prince was inclined to favour the popular side in politics: if it should be his intention to raise the power of the merchants and the peasants, so as to form a counterpoise to the overbearing weight of the nobles, he will follow the wisest course which historical experience can point out for imitation.

With regard to foreign views and relations, the prospects of Sweden by his means took a new direction: but this system was in opposition to general opinion, and regarded by few persons in a proper light. Circumstances had undergone an alteration, but the public, who are ever slow to change, were not in any way sensible of the different line it was become advisable to adopt.

While Finland was the object of contention (and it had constantly been so for the last century) Russia was the natural enemy of Sweden, and the alliance of France of course was sought after for the sake of protection. Finland was now lost; the objects of alliance changed; Russia had nothing more to demand; France no offers of succour to make which it could be deemed necessary to accept.

But the policy of the ruler of France introduced the consideration of another question: to preserve good terms with him, was to forego all the advantages of commerce, and to cut off at once both the present resources and future hopes of the country. At the same time he insulted the national flag, plundered the ships, treated the seamen as prisoners, and took forcible possession of Pomerania; seeming to threaten by his haughty conduct, that he would accept no other than a forced compliance with his wishes on the part of Sweden.

War against England had meanwhile been declared; it was nominal indeed with regard to acts of hostility: the British cruisers returned, in most cases, their captures untouched, and even sent back to their ports the vessels that they had retaken from the French, with a charge only of the usual salvage.

Instead, however, of being exposed to the hostility, open or concealed, of both these two parties, as affairs were more advanced, Sweden became the general object of solicitation. On the one side she was offered the provinces of Finland on condition of taking the field with 40,000 men, to cooperate with the grand French army by marching against Petersburgh on the northern coasts of the Baltic; but, at the same time, engaging to submit to the continental system, and lending herself to the further aims of the French government, into which Bernadotte had no doubt some insight.

On the other side, an alliance with Russia promised her

possession of Norway as a compensation for the loss of Finland; while England gave a free commerce, an island in the West Indies*, and a subsidy of 1,200,000*l.* to equip a contingent of 30,000 men; but these were to be employed in the common cause of Europe against France.

The Crown Prince balanced but for an instant the choice of these proposals, and a treaty of alliance was arranged in 1812 at Abo, between Sweden, Russia, and England. His mind had always been bent upon the acquisition of Norway; it is related of him, indeed, that when one of the agents of Buonaparte arrived at an early hour at Stockholm, the Prince drew aside his bed-curtain as the man approached, and eagerly asked—"*Est ce que vous m'apportez la Norvege?*"—"*Non sire,*" was the answer; on which he instantly dismissed him without adding another word.

From the circumstance of the late diet having ordered a great road to be made in a line from the south through the north of Westmanland, bearing directly upon Drontheim, the key of Norway, it should seem that schemes in that quarter had for some time been in view. Nevertheless, the Russian and English treaty was highly unpopular throughout Sweden. Although French alliance was a fraternisation that

* The cession of the island of Guadaloupe was looked upon in Sweden as a transfer, chiefly advantageous to England, in whose possession all the neighbouring islands were, and who must ultimately furnish the chief supplies for the use of the inhabitants: so little did they consider themselves as the chief gainers, that the arguments which the English journals urged against the Swedish treaty in the earlier part of this year were looked upon as factitious, and only written with a view to cozen their friends the Swedes.

must have proved ruinous to a large class of merchants and landholders, yet the abandoning a nation, whose cause had been so long identified with their own, the confirming to Russia the possession of Finland, and the disappointment of those who had supported Bernadotte's election merely with a view to regaining this province, created so strong a party in opposition, that many persons were fearful of the consequences which might ensue at the Prince's return.

Under these circumstances it was he undertook to engage in the cause of the allies, long before the great European coalition was formed, and at a moment when the possibility of realising such a scheme was yet doubtful. But his conduct answered well: the glory of the success that attended the opening of his campaign in Germany had its due effect, and overwhelmed at once every complaint which had been raised against him at home. The people thought they beheld another Charles XII.; public opinion underwent a thorough revolution, and recantations of their former sentiments were made by several persons of high rank and consideration, who had before shewn the greatest spirit of hostility to his measures.

The alteration that took place afterwards in the military conduct of Bernadotte it is not my province to discuss. He was a French officer, and one that had been exalted by a singular concurrence of revolutionary events to his present high station, and, no doubt, did not on any ground wish to see the downfall of Buonaparte.

Sweden however was, during this month, on the point of realising by his means the prospect that had been laid open to her. We were engaged at an evening party on the 24th of January, employed in the diversion of *l'oracle, le voyageur racontant, à la guerre*, and other *petits jeux*, when the arrival of a courier from the army in Holstein was announced; in an instant all the parties of amusement were broken up.—Who was it that brought the dispatches? What officers were killed? What news?—Unfortunately the curiosity of these insatiable querists was not destined to be gratified: the rigorous superintendant of the custom-house had refused admission even to the messenger of good tidings; and a long pause of suspense ensued. A peremptory order was instantly sent out, but, alas! the peremptory order was disobeyed; and, finally, * * * * himself set out in order to unravel this mysterious business: the company, in short, dispersed at twelve without having received the much wished-for information.

On the following morning congratulations were in the mouth of every one we met. Kiel had surrendered to the Crown Prince; the preliminaries of the Danish treaty were announced, and the cabinet of Copenhagen had made peace by the cession of Norway. It may be easily imagined that a great sensation was caused by the receipt of this intelligence, and the new domain engrossed the whole conversation in every meeting, public or private, at Stockholm.

The politicians regarded it in the light of an "arrondissement;" the court as another jewel added to the

crown: the merchants began to originate new speculations; already they revelled in imagination at Christiania and Bergen: the peasants said they were told it was a matter of great benefit to Sweden, but, nevertheless, could not help entertaining a dread lest the two nations now united should one day die together of famine.

On the other hand, those were not wanting who found motives for more serious discontent; and some well-informed persons expressed their fears that the new channels of commerce which would be opened might prove highly injurious to the ports of Stockholm and Gottenburg. But on a general view, the course of policy adopted on this occasion was wise and judicious, and best calculated in the end for the mutual improvement and advantage of both these two countries.

Norway, in a military point, is a possession of the highest consequence to Sweden, as increasing her powers of defence, and as placing her in a state to protect herself against any invasion from the east, without fearing the irruption of an enemy at her back. Her internal strength and resources will likewise be greatly increased by this consolidation of the means of the whole peninsula; her maritime interest infinitely enhanced by her enlarged extent of coast and accession of commercial prospects; besides which, she had now strengthened her connexion with a great naval power, whose interest it was that Sweden should become strong by sea, when, from her limited population and other natural

inabilities, it was impossible she ever could aspire to the rank of being a rival.

On the 26th a Te Deum in honour of these tidings was ordered to be performed at the chapel royal: it was numerously attended, and celebrated with the greatest pomp. In the evening a grand fête was given at the palace, whither, on such an occasion, the *corps diplomatique* were invited, though contrary to usual etiquette*.

The company assembled about seven in the evening, and were ushered from the hall of state to the private theatre, where a comedy was admirably performed by the actors from the opera. The drama was succeeded by the representation of an allegorical piece composed for the occasion. Behold Europa enters the scene surrounded by her fair daughters, Austria, Holland, Italy, Prussia, Russia, Spain, &c. they all seem alike afflicted, and utter in doleful strains their common lamentations. Next the Horrors of War, a ghastly crew, rush in; each seizing his struggling victim, binds her in chains, and adds new torments to her sufferings; to put an end to the scene of woe, a prince appears (it was thought of Scandinavia) and "en preux chevalier," encounters and overthrows with his own valorous right arm these several grim-visaged monsters, setting free at once all the helpless damsels: this done, as no other

* This rule of exclusion from fêtes at court was long ago adopted in consequence of the intrigues formerly kept up by the agents of foreign powers, and it is still adhered to.

similar prodigies yet remained for an hero of his calibre to attempt, a quiet spectacle ensues. Apollo, the Muses nine, the Arts, and all the *corps celeste*, descend from the arctic circle, to grace the hero's return: then the ballet is introduced, and at the conclusion the prince receives a chaplet of laurel from the nymph who personates the Goddess of Peace. Not being able to discover exactly to what parts of the life of the Crown Prince this mystical representation could possibly have reference, I should make a very awkward attempt at explanation; but certainly every one will admit that the laurel was bestowed by no improper hand.

After this entertainment we retired to the saloon, where the queen held her court, and at midnight supper was served in three halls; the royal family, according to their etiquette, regaling themselves apart in a private room. The king, who was but in a bad state of health, retired at an early hour, and at two o'clock most of the company had dispersed.

It would be needless to give a long description of the court. The Crown Princess (of whom some, perhaps, may make enquiry) has never made her appearance at Stockholm but once; her stay was short, and she will probably never more return. Her son, Prince Oscar, created Duke of Sudermania, was present at these festivities: he is of an elegant person, and possesses considerable natural acuteness of mind: although only fifteen years of age, he held his levee, going through the routine of ceremony with the

utmost ease and grace, occasionally entering into conversation with no small fluency in the Swedish language.

On the subject of future destinies, it must be said that the Crown Prince personally deserves every mark of gratitude that the nation can confer upon him for his exertions, his spirit, his activity, his generosity: but there are still many parties friendly to the old dynasty, and as to what may take place hereafter, I have too little skill in prophecy to hazard even a conjecture. Such persons as are desirous, however, to look into what is to come, may be amused by perusing the following narrative of an extraordinary vision of Charles XI. It is taken from an account written with his own hand, attested by several of his ministers of state, and preserved in the royal library. It contains, upon the whole, so curious a specimen of the mind and manner of one of the greatest Swedish monarchs, that no apology, I am sure, is needful for its introduction.

Charles the Eleventh, it seems, sitting in his chamber between the hours of eleven and twelve at night, was surprised at the appearance of a light in the window of the hall of the diet: he demanded of the grand chancellor, Bjelke, who was present, what it was that he saw, and was answered that it was only the reflection of the moon: with this, however, he was dissatisfied; and the senator, Bjelke, soon after entering the room, he addressed the same question to him, but received the same answer. Looking afterwards again through the window, he thought he observed a crowd of persons in the hall: upon this, said he, Sirs, all is

not as it should be—in the confidence that he who fears God need dread nothing, I will go and see what this may be.' Ordering the two noblemen before-mentioned, as also Oxenstiern and Brahe, to accompany him, he sent for Grunsten the door-keeper, and descended the staircase leading to the hall.

Here the party seem to have been sensible of a certain degree of trepidation, and no one else daring to open the door, the king took the key, unlocked it, and entered first into the anti-chamber: to their infinite surprise, it was fitted up with black cloth: alarmed by this extraordinary circumstance, a second pause occurred; at length the king set his foot within the hall, but fell back in astonishment at what he saw; again, however, taking courage, he made his companions promise to follow him, and advanced. The hall was lighted up and arrayed with the same mournful hangings as the anti-chamber: in the centre was a round table, where sat sixteen venerable men, each with large volumes lying open before them: above was the king, a young man of 16 or 18 years of age, with the crown on his head and sceptre in his hand. On his right hand sat a personage about 40 years old, whose face bore the strongest marks of integrity; on his left an old man of 70, who seemed very urgent with the young king that he should make a certain sign with his head, which as often as he did, the venerable men struck their hands on their books with violence.

Turning my eyes, says he, a little further, I beheld a scaffold and executioners, and men with their clothes tucked

up, cutting off heads one after the other so fast, that the blood formed a deluge on the floor: those who suffered were all young men. Again I looked up and perceived the throne behind the great table almost overturned; near to it stood a man of forty, that seemed the protector of the kingdom. I trembled at the sight of these things, and cried aloud—"It is the voice of God!—What ought I to understand?—When shall all this come to pass?"—A dead silence prevailed; but on my crying out a second time, the young king answered me, saying, This shall not happen in your time, but in the days of the sixth sovereign after you. He shall be of the same age as I appear now to have, and this personage sitting beside me gives you the air of him that shall be the regent and protector of the realm. During the last year of the regency, the country shall be sold by certain young men, but he shall then take up the cause, and, acting in conjunction with the young king, shall establish the throne on a sure footing; and this in such a way, that never was before or ever afterwards shall be seen in Sweden so great a king. All the Swedes shall be happy under him; the public debts shall be paid; he shall leave many millions in the treasury, and shall not die but at a very advanced age: yet before he is firmly seated on his throne shall an effusion of blood take place unparalleled in history. You, added he, who are king of this nation, see that he is advertised of these matters: you have seen all; act according to your wisdom.

Having thus said, the whole vanished, and (adds he) we

saw nothing but ourselves and our flambeaus, while the anti-chamber through which we passed on returning was no longer clothed in black.—" *Nous entrames dans mes ap-*
" *partemens, et je me mis aussitot à écrire ce que j'avois vu:*
" *ainsi que les avertissements aussi bien que je le puis. Que le*
" *tout est vrai, je le jure sur ma vie & mon honneur, autant*
" *que le Dieu m'aide le corps & l'ame.*

" *Charles XI. aujourd'hui Roi de Suède.*"

" *L'an* 1691, 17 *Dec.*

" *Comme temoins & presents sur les lieux nous avons vu*
" *tout ce que S. M. a rapporté, & nous l'affermons par notre*
" *serment, autant que Dieu nous aide pour le corps & l'ame.*
" *H. L. Bjelke, Gr. Chancelier du Royaume,—Bjelke, Se-*
" *nateur,—Brahe, Senateur,—Ax. Oxenstierna, Senateur,—*
" *Petre Grunsten, Huissier.*"

The whole story is curious, and well worth attention; but unless the young king's ghostly representative made an error in his chronological calculation, it will be difficult to reconcile the time specified with that which is yet to come. I can offer no explanation, and bequeath the whole, like the hieroglyphic in Moore's Almanack, to the better ingenuity of my readers.

At a time when the renewal of systems of representation seems to be the fashion of the day, it cannot be uninteresting to take a review of one of the few popular forms of government yet remaining, which, though now generally suppressed, were once prevalent throughout the greater part of Europe.

But to an Englishman the constitution of Sweden has stronger grounds of attraction. It is a nation sprung from a kindred stock with ourselves, and who, in a different stage of progress as to wealth and civilisation, now display the same practices and customs that we recognise as mentioned in the earlier pages of the British annals. Many points may be observed that seem suggested by the events of our history as well as by those of their own, and many where forms, long obsolete with us, are here still retained in full force.

The following short abstract is taken from the resolutions of the diet of 1811.

The crown is hereditary in the heirs male of the king (according to the order that shall have been established by the diet) on the condition that they *profess the pure evangelical faith*, i. e. confession of Augsburg.

The king's person is *sacred, he is not responsible; he is vested with the supreme power and right of appointment in the civil, military, and naval services.*

Councils.

The king shall govern the kingdom with the advice of his council of state, consisting of nine members, ministers, secretaries, and ex-secretaries, &c. *professing the pure evangelical faith.* All foreign relations, peace, war, &c. &c. are here decided; the first officers of the government are *ex officio* members; as also

The minister of justice, minister for foreign affairs, and chancellor of the high court of appeal.

The secretaries of state are four: war; interior administration (agriculture, mines, &c.); finance and commerce, &c.; religion (church, public instruction, regulation of the poor, &c.). Under these are placed the respective colleges or inferior boards of each department.

General Rights.

Justice, liberty of conscience, and *free exercise are allowed in matters of religion. No one can suffer in person or property under any authority, unless according to the forms prescribed by law.*

The judges shall be men *professing the pure evangelical faith.*

For the preservation of justice, twelve men shall be appointed by the king, six nobles and six others, to act under his seal as counsellors of justice, forming a body called the high court of appeal.

The power of reprieve and restoration of property is vested in the king; but the arguments of the high court shall be heard in plea.

The king shall deliver his final decision * in the council of state.

* A singular form is in use on occasion of a reprieve by the king, when the criminal has been condemned by the judgment of the court. He is desired to make his free choice, and declare whether he accepts the king's grace, or prefers to undergo the sentence before passed upon him.

For the superintendance of the conduct of the inferior courts, the king shall appoint one procureur general, and the states of the diet shall conjointly elect another; these officers shall assist when they think proper at the sittings of any of the courts, and make their report accordingly, being bound to prosecute such functionaries as appear culpable.

The *procureur general* of the states *is also obliged* (at the instance of any one committee of the diet) *to prosecute* *, *ex officio, the king's ministers or secretaries before the proper tribunal.*

Honours and Appointments.

The king may select any Swede for office on a list of candidates being presented: he may appoint also foreigners of extraordinary talents to any military employment, except to the command of fortresses.

In the ecclesiastical line, the *archbishop and bishops are appointed by the king* out of three candidates proposed.

In the municipal, the burgomasters of each town in like form, much as the sheriffs are pricked with us.

The council of state shall deliver their opinions on the nominations of the king, and have the right to make their

* The tribunal for these prosecutions is a special one, consisting of nearly all the chief officers of the civil, military, and naval services, resident, *ex officio*, near the capital. A different provision from that of parliamentary impeachment in England: but it must be remembered also that neither in ordinary judicial affairs is the trial by jury, or by the peers of the accused, adopted in Sweden.

humble representations: all such remonstrances shall be produced in their defence in case they are called to trial for having abetted the king in acting contrary to the law of the constitution.

The king may dismiss any one from these appointments upon making known his reason in the council of state. No person, however, employed in the department of justice can, *on any ground, be dismissed or removed by the king*, unless by his own consent.

The rank of nobility is conferred by the king: titles created after this year *shall only descend to the eldest son:* a practice contrary to that which generally obtains throughout Europe.

No appanage or civil employment can be held by a member of the royal family.

Regency.

The king may leave the country at any time, having duly explained his reasons in the council of state.

In this case, or during illness, or indeed minority of the king, or failure of issue, the council of state form the temporary regency.

If the king stays abroad beyond twelve months *, the diet shall be convened in fifteen days after the expiration of that time. The same course shall be adopted if he is incapacitated from duty by illness for so long a space.

* Every one will call to mind the remonstrances made to Charles XII. while at Bender.

Should the regency neglect to convoke the diet under these circumstances, then the provincial authorities and consistories are held to do the same by the 50th day at the latest after the expiration of the above term.

A provision somewhat similar was made in England during the reign of Charles I. when, in case the king neglected to summon the parliament once in three years, the House of Lords were directed to issue the writs for the election of the commons: this act was repealed in the reign of Charles II.

Houses of Diet.

The four estates, nobles, clergy, burghers, peasants, sit in four separate houses; they assemble necessarily at the expiration of every five years; and on other occasions only when they may be convoked by the king.

The session lasts three months, but the king has the right of prolonging this period if necessary. No officer or *functionary of the crown shall influence the election of deputies* under pain of losing his place.

The persons of the members *are inviolable during the session.*

The immemorial *right of the nation to tax themselves can only be exercised in full diet.*

The king may of his own authority, however, levy requisitions of victuals in those parts of the country through which his troops are on their march.

Neither the national domains or rights can be *alienated,*

nor can *any money be borrowed for public service, either at home or abroad, without consent of the diet.*

The king names the marshal of the diet (speaker of the House of Nobles) and the orators (speakers) of the burghers and peasants, as also the secretary of the latter.

The archbishop is *ex officio* orator (or prolocutor) of the clergy.

No decision can be made by the diet in *presence of the king.*

In the same manner as the committees of justice, trade, religion, and grievances, are appointed on the meeting of the British Parliament, so here the following are regularly made out.

Committee of the constitution: to examine, report, and propose amendments of the laws; to review the state of the public debt, and to examine the *procès verbaux* of the council of state.

Committee of state: to examine and report on matters relative to finance*.

Committee of indirect taxation: customs and imposts; plan of repartition.

Committee of the bank: to regulate and report.

Committee of laws, ecclesiastical, &c.

* The method of levying and apportioning the income tax savours of the simplicity of the country. A board is formed in each town or district of delegates from every profession, who estimate the annual receipts of their neighbours, and charge them at a rate of about two or three per cent. Any one designated by a title, as professor, herr, doctor, &c. (matters of great importance in Sweden) pays a higher rate, in consequence of such distinction.

Committee of economy: to point out defects in the public administration under this head.

The diet also selects each session a body of twelve to examine the proceedings of the high court of appeal.

Laws.

A law is the *conjoint decree of the king and the* four *houses of diet.*

If on any point the houses are divided two against two, the committee of state shall be augmented to the number of thirty from each house; then one member going out by ballot, the majority of remaining voices shall decide the question.

The subject of a law to be made is proposed to the committee for that branch, and they report to the several houses: if agreed to, the orators report to the king in the succeeding session at the earliest; the king takes the advice of the council of state, and thereupon either approves or refuses his consent.

To amend a law the same forms are necessary, only that in this case a majority of three houses is sufficient; if two against two, those that vote for rejecting the alteration proposed have the right to decide the question.

Liberty of the Press.

The liberty of the press is decreed—no Swede *can be punished for any publication unless upon judgment obtained in a tribunal of justice, stating that its tenets militate against*

public peace, or the progress of light and knowledge; for ascertaining which purposes, a regular board of twelve members used to be appointed.

This article, however, has been superseded since the arrival of the Crown Prince; and the police are now charged with the duty of superintendance over all *publications*.

Such are the articles of the Swedish constitution: some variations, however, from the apparent aim of these principles are necessarily introduced in its practical administration. The king, in the first place, enjoys a more absolute sovereignty than is here laid down: the infrequency of the meetings of the diet not only removes the constant check of the parliament upon his public acts, but places him in the light of almost the only permanent authority in the country: while being the dispenser of honours and of the lucrative appointments of office, his party too at all times embodied and in activity, he has the means to create a strong faction in his favour. The balance of power, which is so unequally divided in this as all the other Teutonic forms of representation, allows also sufficient room for encroachment: the greatest share of natural strength, of property, of weight, lies either in the hands of the crown or those of the nobles; and the struggle for superiority between these two parties would be an unequal conflict at the present day.

The revolution of 1772 materially impaired the strength which the latter had acquired through the terms made at the accession of Frederick Adolphus: there is, therefore, no reason in Sweden to dread the occurrence of such a

catastrophe as befel the sister kingdom of Denmark, when the commonalty surrendered their rights to the king, that they might be protected from the oppression of their minor tyrants. The two houses of the *tiers état* are daily increasing in strength, and in time will know and feel their own importance: the contest indeed alluded to before on this subject of military service and taxation, affords sufficient testimony to this fact.

The House of Nobles consists of about 1200 members, the head of each family being by inheritance the legal representative: they are divided into three classes, the Herra classen, consisting of counts, barons, &c.; Riddar classen, of knights, &c.; Swena classen, of gentlemen without titles, but possessing letters patent of nobility. A regular faction in opposition to the government always displays itself in this house each session, but of late the court party has been constantly gaining ground.

The House of Clergy consists of the archbishop, the bishops, and a certain number of deputies elected from the ecclesiastical body. In party questions they generally take the side of the government.

The House of Burghers consists of deputies chosen from the towns, every freeman paying taxes being allowed to vote: still very little stir or anxiety is shewn on occasion of the election, and the honour of a seat in the house is not eagerly coveted. This body acts with perfect independence.

The House of Peasants is not a meeting of that description which its name would seem to import, but rather a

selection from a minor class of country gentlemen. They are called, as proprietors, the free peasants, in contradistinction to those who hold land on a similar tenure with that of the German peasant; and their title either to vote or to sit in the house arises from the possession of certain lands belonging to the crown, for which a small acknowledgment of the nature of a quit rent is annually paid. Their qualification resembling so far that of the electors in Scotland: but we must remember indeed, that in England it was the tenants in chief of the crown who were originally summoned to the king's parliament. It is curious to remark that here, as was at one time the practice with us, the expense of attendance at the diet is, in many instances, defrayed by the subscription of their constituents; a dollar is given to some members of the House of Peasants *per diem:* and where this appears too high a charge upon the electors, two or three districts unite together for the sake of economy, and send one deputy to represent the whole; so that the numbers of the house are never actually filled up.

The nobles, while in the enjoyment of their full power, were always extremely anxious to keep down this rising class of people; they were prevented by a certain degree of jealousy from being able to exert any great influence at the elections; but in order to exclude men of spirit and weight in the country from a seat in the house, they procured the enactment of a law, which declared no person to be legally eligible as a deputy to the fourth estate who assumed the address of herr, or was habited in any other dress

than that of an ordinary peasant. Occasionally it has happened that men of talent and respectability have submitted themselves to these nominal degradations; and being returned to the diet, have been enabled to raise a feeling of party in their favour: but the want of a proper understanding in the body at large has hitherto rendered such efforts in great measure unavailing.

Upon a general view it is easy to see that in a future age, if the promising prospects of Sweden shall ever be realised, many changes will become necessary in the frame of her constitution. Those moral facilities of action that prevent any inconvenience from being felt in a poorer or less populous establishment are unable to keep pace with the progress of a growing evil: as the political body swells in bulk, the tendency to mischief is augmented in a tenfold proportion; such imperfections as before seemed trifling in their nature increase by neglect, till at length they involve the whole in ruin. The corpulent and bloated mass but ill withstands the first attack of disease; a morbid disposition lurks in the system; and long ere it appears on the surface, the malignant cancer has corroded the very sources of vitality. Let it be hoped no over-rigid prejudices will prevent that gradual alteration from taking place, which can alone prevent the dangerous consequences of an ill-judged and spiritless system of procrastination.

Among those now high in employment in the state are many men of acknowledged talents, and, which reflects still more credit on the country, who have raised themselves by

their own exertions to their present eminence from a very inferior condition of life.

Count Gyllenborg is the minister of justice, the first officer of the realm; the next in rank is Count Engerstrom, the minister for foreign affairs, a person possessed of strong discernment and of sound integrity; his countess is a Polish heiress, full of zeal and patriotism for her native country—a feeling which, though adverse at this day to the system of policy that was in fashion, could not fail to raise her in the estimation of every one who loved his own.

Baron Wetterstadt, the chancellor, is considered as a character of the greatest promise; he enjoys the perfect confidence of the Crown Prince, whom he now accompanies in the character of diplomatic agent during the war on the continent. Of Frenchmen, followers of the Prince, only four now remain out of the suite that came with him to the capital: no great ground of jealousy or ill-will therefore can be afforded to the Swedes on that score.

Jan. 25.—At this time the cold was excessive, generally below 20°, and on the 21st day of this month the mercury stood at 33° of Celsius's * scale below freezing point, or 28° below zero of Fahrenheit. It is impossible to recount all the horrors of such a season: no example had occurred during the last sixty years of one so severe. The peasants attending the market came with their faces, arms, and legs, frozen: the soldiers on guard, though relieved every hour, were

* This is universally used in Sweden, being the same with the centigrade scale of Paris, freezing point 1, boiling point 100.

often taken up in the same condition; and one, it was said, had been found dead at his post. Besides the miserable cases of persons frostbitten that daily thronged the hospitals, several deaths took place among those who were out of the way of immediate assistance. A poor woman, to mention one instance, being ignorant of the unusual inclemency of this morning, had gone early to her usual occupation of washing on the river side; scarce half an hour elapsed before we saw her on her return borne under our windows to her home a lifeless corpse.

It will be well to observe, that the extraordinary increase of cold is not directly made known by symptoms such as might be expected; no external sensation will enable any person to form an estimate of its comparative rigour. The action of a temperature such as the above is not like the nipping of a frost in England, but a general extension of its baneful influence is felt over the whole body, its access being so gradual that, for several minutes after leaving a warm room, the air seems to make little or no impression: an attempt, however, to endure it for even a quarter of an hour, unless extraordinarily well wrapped up in fur or wadded clothing, would be attended with the highest degree of danger. Exercise alone is totally unable to keep up the necessary vital warmth: the linen becoming moist is instantly converted to a covering of ice, and the animal heat escapes as fast as it is excited.

Even with the adoption of every possible precaution, its injurious effects will sometimes manifest themselves. A

soreness in breathing, an oppressive head-ach, a want of sense in the extremities, and a stiffness in the thighs, are the first symptoms which give the stranger warning to seek again the timely shelter of his house.

Frequently did we remark the dead white patch on the cheek, the ears, or the noses of the lower class, who were moderately provided in point of clothing; and to guard against such contingencies, it was usual to see many of the well furred gentry with the upper part of their faces in masks, with coverings applied to their ears, and applying their fingers with incessant care to every part of their visages in succession: or sometimes, which is the best preservative for travelling, their skins, where exposed, were greased with oil. Salutations in the street are short; scarce a word or an answer; and the greatest assemblage of people (for the groups are seldom numerous) can be compared only to a meeting at a deaf and dumb asylum. A north-east wind, during such weather as this, is a chill blast of death that exceeds in horror any other curse of heaven.

It is not without reason that so much care is used to prevent the face from being taken by the frost, for as the skin is destroyed by its action, a blemish like the sore of a burn serves to recal the memory of the accident during the whole of the succeeding summer. As to the general effects of the constant cold on the body, I cannot help remarking that the women of all classes both here, and as I afterwards observed in Russia, seem to be much less affected than the men. It may be that they seldom stay out of doors for so great a length of time as the other sex, but it is certainly

true that the influence of the climate on the body varies much in degree upon different habits; it is most commonly manifested in a determination of blood to the head, and a tendency to lethargy, but this is by no means universal.

The extreme accumulation of animal electricity in the frame is also remarkable; the natural moisture necessary to carry it off not having been produced during the day, it is visibly discharged in great quantities at night on undressing in a warm room.

The power of the constitution to bear against cold, contrary to vulgar ideas, is weakened gradually more and more by endurance; the frame is enervated, in artificial life at least, and a stranger, instead of growing more hardy and secure, braves the sharpness of the first winter with much greater success than he can attempt a second year. In the course of the first spring, indeed, after his arrival, he feels infinitely more sensible of its injury than he had been of a similar temperature in the preceding autumn.

Several striking natural phenomena attend this season. The smoke seems to ascend from the chimney tops a dense compact cloud, and the atmosphere itself, though not obscure, assumes a heavy aspect, particularly observable at the rising and setting of the sun. Some signs moreover appear to indicate to a certain extent the *quantum* of cold: scarcely has the thermometer fallen to 20°—(Celsius), or 4° below the zero of Fahrenheit's scale, when the cellars of the houses emit a strong vapour to the streets; and all the streams of water, whose rapidity is sufficient to check congelation, give out in similar way a powerful steam dur-

ing day and night from their surface. It was an extraordinary spectacle to see the bridge at Stockholm, through which the waters of the Mælar were discharged, constantly enveloped during the month in a thick exhalation, as if rising from boiling water*.

This effect admits of an easy explanation: a perpetual supply of water takes place from under the ice, great part of which (since the freezing of its surface) has reassumed a higher degree of temperature from the warmth of the earth; the interchange of particles occurring in the stream, because they are in this way possessed of a different quantity of heat, prevents the whole from being cooled down to the point necessary for congelation: the declivity continually keeps up the effect; and so great a difference existing between the temperature of the air and that of the water will occasion steam † to be given out from its surface at any point of the thermometer.

* About five years ago an extraordinary circumstance (not wholly unconnected with the above statement) took place: it was during an intense frost (thermom. 24—) that a part of the ice at the mouth of one of the basons connected with the Mælar (called Clara Sjon) thawed and gave way, in consequence of which several lives were lost. The cause of the accident is thus explained: a westerly wind had carried off the water of the sea from the coast, and of course drained it partially from these creeks; its place was supplied by a more than usual draught from above, and in the disturbance that ensued some water of a higher temperature was brought in contact with the ice that covered this outlet of the creek, and caused its dissolution.

† Fogs and falling weather sometimes occurred, though not when the cold was in extreme; at that time the sky was always clear and cloudless: an example, perhaps, to be applied to the ingenious theory of the radiation of heat.

The wolves at this time, severely pressed by famine, lost their usual dread of man, and prowled fearlessly on the roads, following the track of the carriages, to a great distance. In one or two instances they were known to venture, during the night, into the villages in search of prey.

All communication with England, through the port of Gottenburgh, was entirely cut off; the packet-boat came in sight, but was inaccessible from the regions of broken ice that encircled the coast: an hundred guineas were offered to any one that would undertake the perilous office of fetching the mails ashore, and in vain.

The roads by land also were blocked up for several days: we had some difficulty to ascertain the period of their being opened, when the arrival of some travellers from Petersburgh removed all uncertainty on that score, bringing also with them the agreeable intelligence that the Haff, the straight separating Sweden from the Aland islands, was entirely frozen over. This circumstance determined us instantly to prepare for our journey, as, besides the novelty of passing over a sea of ice, it afforded us the only means of avoiding a disagreeable detour of 1400 miles by Tornea, in order to prosecute our route to the Russian capital.

We were accordingly presented to the king, for the purpose of taking leave: his majesty did us the honour to express himself with great condescension and kindness; he said, that "he owed much to our country, and was proud of the obligation. The treaty of peace now established, he hoped, was sealed for ever." The table before him was

almost covered with the keys of towns that had surrendered to the arms of the Crown Prince, and a chapter of the Order of the Sword had just been held, for the purpose of investing with the insignia some meritorious officers of the Swedish army, who had lately arrived.

His majesty could duly appreciate merit, and sympathise with the feelings of those whom he rewarded; he had served himself in his youth with distinguished honour, and obtained the highest approbation of his countrymen for his courage and conduct at the naval battle of Swenskund. It was a satisfaction to see this period of his life marked by events that reflected a new lustre on the exalted situation to which he had been called.

We took leave of the queen and Prince Oscar on the following day, and prepared for our journey.

February 13.—We got ready our Finnish sledges, which were simple narrow four-sided wooden troughs, matted over the head: having now, too, provided ourselves with boots, gloves, and double pelisses of thick fur, and laid in our stock of brandy, frozen meat, and bread, we at length set out on our road.

The country wore, as may be supposed, a dreary aspect; but when objects of present interest are denied, a traveller must content himself with a retrospect of the past, and in this view the tract we were traversing was by no means deficient. These parts have immemorially held the chief rank in Scandinavia. We were quitting Stockholm, the foundation of ancient Birger Jahl; on our left lay Siggtuna,

the city of Odin, and capital of the kingdom of the Goths; before us was Upsala, the old metropolis of the Swedes, and for many ages, as at the present day, the chief seat of learning in the north of Europe.

It was Steno Sture who built the first establishments of this university, as far back as the year 1476, which have since received liberal endowments from the munificence of Gustavus Adolphus. But a brief account of its constitution may, perhaps, be more acceptable than its history.

The body corporate consists of twenty-two professors, with their adjuncts or assistants, the independent members having neither power nor vote on any occasion. The income of a professor may be laid at about 2000 R. D. B. per annum (or about 300*l.*) a comfortable and easy subsistence in Sweden: it arises from an annual *corn rent* of 250 *tunna*, besides which an hemman (or farm) is allotted to each, unless in the case of his being a minister of the church, when a living is usually given in its stead.

The rest of the foundation is not large; there are several scholarships of from 60 to 150 R. D. B. per annum (9*l.* to 22*l.* 10*s.*) the produce of private benefactions, and some of an inferior value endowed by the crown, few of them yielding more than 20 R. D. B. or 3*l.* per annum.

Upon the whole, the number of students is about 500. As they are usually sent at a very early age, and as no one can be employed in church or state without a degree from one of the universities, this number must not be considered as extraordinarily large. A considerable class besides re-

ceive their education from private tutors at home, obtaining their degrees with no other trouble than the exhibition of the necessary attainments at the expiration of a certain period from the time of their entrance, for no residence is required. The examination for this purpose takes place once every three years, when seventy-five candidates are selected and presented for their degrees. They are examined by a board of thirteen professors* of the several arts and sciences, of which theology and political œconomy are made the chief. As to distinctions of merit, no academical honours are granted to any one, but each professor as he signs the *videtur* (or certificate of the candidate's examination) adds a term expressive of his satisfaction or disapprobation, *Laudo in optima forma, Laudo, cum laude approbo, approbo, admitto*; and occasionally, if the attainments exhibited are of a moderate stamp, *ægre admitto*, or even *ægerrime*. In the wholesale mode of admission above stated, the satisfactory testimonies of four professors, upon the average, will commonly ensure success, and a certain allowance is made for the higher terms of praise.

The young students now on the spot, although some of them were only boys, did not show that playfulness and buoyancy of spirits usually attendant on their age. There

* These are,—*Theologiæ.; Juris Patr. et Roman.; Jurispr. œconom. et Commerc.; Med. et Botan.; Med. Theor. et Pract.; Anatom. et Chirurg.; Med. prof. et ord. Botan. Demonstrator; Histor.; Physic.; Chemices.; Litt. Human.; œconom. pract.; Eloqu. et Polit.; Astronom. Eloqu. et Poes.; Logic. et Metaph.; Ling. Orient.*

were taverns at which they met in an evening to drink their liquors, beer being the favourite: after this recreation, their favourite pastime seems to consist in parading the streets in parties, singing songs, that sounded rather of a doleful cast, throwing in now and then an occasional *pereat* to the more obnoxious of their professors.

The gymnastics used at Hanover and other academies in Germany have been introduced, by order of the prince; and we were shown in the court-yard a kind of moveable scaffold, with arms and ropes fixed in various directions, by means of which different feats of agility and suppleness are put in exercise.

The system of education in the branches of literature is carried on by free public lectures; classical studies are not pushed to a very high pitch, at least in Greek.

The Crown Prince is the chancellor of the university, and the archbishop of Upsal, who resides here, acts as his deputy. The third person in rank is the rector, whose office is elective, commencing from the expiration of each half year. The chair was now filled by Professor Thunberg, a name well known in the world of letters, from the publication of his travels to Japan. He had gone thither in the train of the Dutch embassy, at that time the only possible mode of obtaining a footing in the country, for even their neighbours, the Chinese, were excluded by the Japanese laws of non-intercourse; while Dutch intrigue (for to them this system is chiefly attributable) had so far fostered the national habits of jealousy, that the whole European world,

except themselves, were prohibited from communication. The professor was in consequence required to declare himself a Dutchman born, and that he did not profess the Christian faith—such was the form of oath. He acquired the greater part of his information by trafficking his knowledge of medicine with a native physician; it was thus he discovered (a matter of high mystery) the name of the present sovereign, which it seems is never publicly revealed during his reign, and was unknown even to the Dutch envoy, whose credentials he received. The professor gave us many curious and interesting anecdotes, but the reader must be referred to his book, where he will find unravelled many secrets of more account than the name and titles of the emperor of Japan.

Among the most considerable men that Upsala may boast, the great Swedish botanist and natural philosopher stands in the foremost rank. In the gardens we saw a portico named after Linnæus, which led to a spacious hall containing a collection of natural history: there was also a magnificent conservatory, where a jubilee dinner, in honour of the day that gave him birth, was held a few years since, to shew the respect borne by his countrymen to his memory. His habitation, and the room in which the chirping cricket so much engrossed the attention of his last hours, are displayed to the stranger with veneration; but his lecture-room was now somewhat whimsically employed by an itinerant exhibitor of Fantoccini, whose puppets were this evening

performing Don Juan for the amusement of the Swedish rustics, that flocked to the annual fair of Upsala.

The tenant of his *quondam* dwelling was a graduate of the university, who had formed a vast collection of entomology: he offered it for sale, and it was said to be very perfect; one of the grey butterflies, nevertheless, was missing, having been lately sent to Germany, in order to settle a dispute concerning its species, and it might possibly, he seemed to think, be detained some time by the circumstances of the war. We were shewn, moreover, by our accurate friend, two Swedish butterflies, which, said he, Acerbi not having seen before, thought they were unnoticed by others, and, with a boldness unparalleled in the country of Linnæus, gave them names himself; the papillio Emilia, and the papillio Sophia, after two ladies of his acquaintance at Stockholm.

Various branches of natural history appear to be pursued here with much ardour: we were next shewn a collection of shells belonging to the Dilettanti society, formed on the most extensive scale, neither expense in procuring them having been spared, nor pains in their arrangement.

On the 17th we attended the Parentalia of the late queen. The ceremonials were opened with solemn music, after which, two orations, one in the Swedish tongue, the other in Latin, were pronounced in honour of the deceased. The cold being on this day upwards of 16°, the professors, though placed in their seats of dignity, were wisely pro-

vided with clothing of divers skins, from that of the shaggy wolf, to the bear of the north; and their disciples were habited in similar guise: a sight which, when put in comparison with the scholastic pomp of our English universities, seemed to partake of a ludicrous character; but it was according to usual custom, and a course dictated by sheer necessity.

The hall of the academy, where the formalities are carried on, is a plain structure, without any striking beauties of shape or arrangement. Directly *vis-à-vis* rises the cathedral*, which is built of brick, after the model of the Notre Dame at Paris. Among other objects of curiosity is pointed out the place where the kings of Sweden are crowned, as also some antiquities highly interesting to a reader of Swedish history:—the jacket in which the Protector Sture was assassinated by Eric:—the whetstone sent by Albert (of Mecklenburg) to Margaret of Waldemar, whereon to sharpen her arrows for her threatened hostilities:—a wooden idol, supposed by some to be a representation of the god Thor:—the ring given by Gustavus Adolphus to Ebba Brahe, &c. &c. But the library contains one of the most valuable treasures connected with the biography of their kings: the sealed chest inclosing the secret papers of Gustavus III. which was given with injunctions that it should

* The old Swedish custom of announcing each hour by a trumpet from the church steeple, and singing a song, to assure the people that no conflagration is to be observed, is still kept up here, and in all the ancient towns of Sweden.

not be opened till the expiration of 50 years after his decease: the attraction arising from the circumstances of his times will have passed away before the period arrives, but they may probably contain hints for a new historian of Catherine II. There is also preserved here the Codex Argenteus, a MS. copy of the Testament in the Sueo Gothic language, written in silver letters on purple coloured parchment; it is well known from its publication in England.

The first book printed in Sweden is also shewn, a collection of fables, edited by Snell, bearing the date of 1487. The journal of Eric XIV. a note book filled with mysterious signs and characters of necromancy, is curious, for this seems to be always a favourite study at the royal palace.

As to religion, the Roman Catholic and reformed churches may be called those of the south and north of Europe respectively, and the established church of Sweden is the Lutheran; but the spirit of piety is quiet and dormant; unfomented by the fostering warmth of jarring sectarists, it sinks to a state of tranquillity and almost utter indifference, rarely becoming the foundation of moral conduct or principle.

I remember to have heard an oration of the president of the academy of sciences at Stockholm, which turned upon the dangerous precepts inculcated by the modern philosophy of Kant, Schelling, Halle, or others of the new sect, which, he averred, had been embraced too eagerly of late by many of the young students at the universities. To whatever ex-

tent this may have taken place, I do not believe that the religious apathy of the sluggish Swede is at all attributable to the poison engendered by these crude dogmas, but to causes that are most obvious upon even a slight review of their national habits and customs.

It is true that the fanciful tenets of Swedenborg owe their birth, as well as, in some sort, their celebrity to this country: they did not, however, grow much into fashion; and though there are to this day certain of his disciples remaining, there never was a time when they formed a very numerous party.

The most imposing part of his doctrine, which concerns the reappearance of departed spirits, is written in so allegorical and symbolical a style, that few persons have ever given themselves the trouble of perusing his volumes. It is sufficient to give an instance of its obscurity by stating, that a stag is the representation of a courtesan; and in general it may be said, that no hieroglyphical writings, Mexican, Egyptian, or Hindoo, are half so mysteriously involved.

One of his first attempts to induce the world to believe he held converse with the dead was practised upon the Countess Brahe. She had just lost her husband; her friends were paying visits of condolence, amongst others Emanuel Swedenborg: he informed her he had seen her husband since his decease, who commended himself to her, and demanded an interview with his son: the countess, nothing alarmed at this appearance of collusion with supernatural

powers, gave Swedenborg permission to do what he pleased: he took the boy into a pavilion in the garden, where he pretended to hold a conversation with some one unseen; on returning, he told her the count was satisfied, and highly delighted with the indulgence shewn to his request. She was amazed, and whatever she really thought, some of her neighbours certainly betrayed symptoms of credulity.

But he gained still more credit from relating, by anticipation, to the Dowager Queen, Louisa Ulrica, the contents of sundry letters, which she afterwards received from the cabinet of the deceased king, her brother, at Berlin. He is said to have given the substance very accurately.

A third story, for he as yet confined his schemes of imposture to the female sex, was a miracle wrought in behalf of the widow of the envoy from Portugal. This lady was much importuned by one of her late husband's creditors for the payment of a debt. The claimant she well knew had been satisfied long ago, but having no papers to produce that could prove the fact, was placed in a most unfortunate dilemma. Swedenborg, with his usual assurance, promised that he would consult the shade of her departed husband. In the mean time it happened that the poor woman, whose mind was occupied on the subject day and night, dreamt she saw him herself, and that he pointed with his finger to a certain secret drawer in his cabinet; on waking in the morning she flew to search this spot, and to her surprise really found the quittance for the bill, which had been carefully laid by. The story of her

vision was instantly noised abroad, and in a few days Swedenborg called upon her himself; he pointed out the same secret drawer where she had discovered the receipt, and said her husband had made a similar revelation to him. Upon this his fame increased daily, and his after-prediction was talked of by the inhabitants of the capital with wonder and astonishment.

Swedenborg, in his zeal for propagating his strange doctrines, did not conduct himself with much judgment, and when he left the country he had quarrelled with all his former friends on one ground or other. He then fled to England, where he finally took up his residence.

It is probable that, in pursuit of his system of imposition on others, he had succeeded at last in almost deceiving himself, and become a staunch convert to his own fallacies; but certainly the scheme is looked upon in Sweden as having been a speculation of a pecuniary nature, or at least so on the part of his chief followers. Enough, however, has been said of Swedenborg.

With regard to the ministers of the established church, though they form in this country a body of the highest respectability, yet the profession is very rarely embraced by any one of noble family; the late archbishop of Upsal and the present bishops of Stregnæs and Wexio, nevertheless, stand as exceptions. The parochial benefices are partly in the gift of the crown, and partly vested in the presentation of the parishioners themselves; in which latter case, where a seigneur holds any large property in the place,

he necessarily enjoys so great an influence, that the election may almost be said to be placed in his hands: and the time is probably not very far distant when his power will have grown into a sort of prescriptive right.

For the support of the clergy tythes of the produce of the land are every where allowed; though of this, except in the province of Smäland, Bleckingen, and Schonen, two-thirds belong to the state, and the remaining quota only is the property of the pastor: the former portions are paid according to the rate of an ancient composition; but the latter, being under no similar restrictions, increases in value with the necessities of the times and the daily improvements of agriculture; and some of the livings afford a very handsome income.

The prison of Steno Sture, as well as Mora Stenar, the circle of Runic stones, within which the coronation of the ancient kings was performed, have been the theme of many a traveller; nor have the barrows at Gamla Upsala, the tombs of these sylvan monarchs, or the temple of the Pagan gods at this village, been passed unnoticed. To cite all those who have mentioned this building would be a long task, for the Swedish writers carry the story of its fame to high antiquity, and quote the same passage of Diodorus Siculus, which, with us, is generally referred to Stonehenge. However it may be, every succeeding author speaks in high terms of admiration, though except the usual epithets, *egregium & mirabile*, I do not know that much information is afforded: we are told that it was surrounded

by a chain of solid gold, and built in the form of a cross, that is, of a hammer, the attribute of the pagan god Thor. With regard to its antiquity, says Rudbeck, it was so old that it was believed to have been founded by one of the sons of Noah: he ascribes it, however, modestly enough to the youngest.

It now appears in the shape of a modern church, shewing, in some parts, the remnants of another structure, which was, no doubt, the Christian church built in the reign of Suercherus from the ruins of the original temple, and upon the same foundations: a practice that was not uncommon with the early Christian missionaries, who thus associated the local veneration of the pagan altars to the solemnization of the new rites which they were about to introduce.

From hence we set out under the ungenial influence of the N. E. wind for Osterby, where we were kindly received in the hospitable mansion of Mr. Tamm. The introduction to his acquaintance was a favour we owed to Herr Berzelius, who did us the kindness to accompany us on our excursion. We accounted ourselves particularly fortunate in this circumstance. Mr. Tamm was a person possessed of considerable information, strong natural talent, and endowed with all that courteous respect for others which is the offspring of a real knowledge of one's self.

Besides these qualifications, he was a man of a firmness of spirit and strength of mind rarely to be surpassed. His conduct at the diet of Norrköping is a memorable example:

when in conjunction with three other noblemen, he voluntarily renounced his rank rather than sanction by his vote the cession of those privileges which the late king demanded. However mistaken the ground on which they acted might be in some respects, their high and noble feelings have been duly appreciated by the present government; one of them now enjoys the office of governor of a neighbouring province, and handsome offers are understood to have been made to the others; Mr. Tamm, however, prefers the enjoyment of his retirement here to any reward that the king's munificence can bestow.

The celebrated iron mine of Dannemora was within a short drive from Osterby. It presented a sight of fearful wonder: a long yawning chasm of upwards of ninety fathom in depth has been excavated by the successive toil of near five centuries: whose extent, great as it is, would never suggest the idea of human labour having been able to achieve such an object, but appears as if the effect of some stupendous convulsion of nature.

The brink was crowned with various machinery, and long wooden chain-pumps that reached more than an English mile in length; the sides were fancifully hung with clusters of icicles, and happily diversified by the figures of men and women in their ascent and descent, "*winging the* "*midway air.*" We were let down in a bucket after their mode to the spot where the workmen were employed, and from a temperature of 12° found ourselves transported to a comparatively warm region; the water at a few yards

distance from the mouth of the level was not even congealed; and in the innermost recess, to judge from the experiment we made, the heat of the earth seemed about 4°+. (Celsius).

In point of exportation, the value of these mines, which produce the best material for bar iron in the world, has very sensibly decreased since the use of coke has been adopted in England, and applied so universally to the purposes of cementation; for it was to England that they formerly exported the greatest quantity of iron: the present defalcation, in short, of the revenue, amounts to 6000 R. D. B., out of 10,000 R. D. B. which was once the average of their receipts.

The iron foundry at Osterby is a considerable establishment; the workmen are descendants of the old Walloon refugees, who still forge the iron after their own ancient fashion, heating the pig at one end till it drops off piece by piece, and thus taking it in lumps to the hammer.

But, perhaps, the greatest curiosity of these parts of the country is the foundry at Söderforss, where the superior quality of the ore enables the manufacturers to forge anchors immediately from the pig iron without the intermediate process of forming it into bars; these are said to possess extraordinary qualities of lightness and strength, in which they stand unrivalled except by some I have heard mentioned of a similar description that are made in the province of Biscay.

The winter is the time selected for moving all heavy

loads, as ore, iron, &c. on account of the facility for draught which the sledging affords; the snow, in fact, is compressed on the beaten tracts of the high roads to the consistence of ice, so that very little impediment arises from friction to the motion of the sledge: the ordinary draught of a horse on this track is not, however, laid at more than one ton English, from want of uniformity in its surface.

The copper mine at Fahlun, and that of silver at Sala, we were prevented from visiting by the advanced state of the season.

But we had intelligence by the post from that side of the country, which was not of the most agreeable nature: great discontent had manifested itself in Norway, and symptoms of tumult and rebellion, so that it seemed the King of Sweden and heir of Norway (*arfvinge till Norrige*) in spite of his old title and new pretensions, was not likely to enter quietly into possession. The poor Norwegians had suffered dreadful distress, being obliged to make bread of mosses or whatever else could afford nourishment, and a *tun* of bark (*écorce à manger*) was sold this season at the price of 14 R. D. B. or about 2*l.* 12*s.* sterling: the Swedish government was regarded by them as the chief promoters of the blockade which had so much harassed them, and this idea was one cause of their unpopularity.

Feb. 19.—Feeling no great concern on that head, we recommenced our journey, and on the following morning reached Grisleham at break of day: the sun-beams were just rising over the frozen ocean which here lay before us,

and the presage that we drew of fine weather was too alluring to allow us to loiter long on shore; as soon therefore as our bargain for horses could be struck with the chaffering peasants from the islands, we set out on our course.

It was an extraordinary sight: although the streights lying between the islands and the coast of Finland are frozen every year and made passable to travellers, yet this grand channel of the Häf, that separates the Aland group from Sweden on the west, is very seldom completely covered: being upward of forty miles (English) in breadth, and of a great depth, it is not probable that such a circumstance should often occur except by chance from the accumulation of masses of ice floating down from the north: this year, however, in consequence of the severity of a single night, the whole surface at once became fixed, and was congealed, a phenomenon that had hardly ever happened before in the memory of the oldest man living. Being spread over by the falling weather that succeeded, it was now to appearance a smooth immeasurable desert of snow, gradually changing its hues from the sparkling white beneath the feet, till it faded on the horizon with tints of azure exquisitely delicate. One spot only appeared on this spacious waste; it was a caravan of peasants bound with their cargoes of wood for Stockholm, whom, on our meeting afterwards, we discovered to our surprise to be near thirty in number. We enjoyed a still quiet day, without a breath of wind, and felt the ray of a bright sun that raised the

thermometer* some few degrees above the point of congelation. The line of our road, from the tracks of former travellers, remained visible in almost every part, nor were we at any time obliged to have recourse to our compass for the sake of ascertaining our bearings. These circumstances amply compensated in pleasurable sensations for whatever the scene wanted in more romantic accompaniments, and made a strong contrast with the strange accounts we had previously heard relating to this part of our journey.

After we had travelled about ten miles (English) in a direction E. N. E. the little rock of Signilscar was descried like a black streak in the distance, and our utmost exertions could not enable us to reach it till three or four hours after sun-set. Here we stopped to refresh ourselves, and having procured a relay of horses, set out on that part of our voyage which yet remained to be performed, before we reached our halting place at Eckero.

During the disastrous war of 1809, when the Swedes were driven from hence, a Russian general, in frolicsome mood, crossed over the ice with a band of an hundred Cossacks to Grisleham, merely for the sake of boasting of making a march in imitation of the memorable and daring act of Charles the Tenth; but the exploit excited the most serious alarm on the coast, and no small consternation, as might be imagined, at Stockholm.

* Of Celsius thermometer 5° + in the sun, 5° − in the shade. The population of Signilscar consists of about 9 souls.

Yet provision was made, as far as the conveyance of intelligence was concerned, against surprise from this quarter, for Grisleham was one of the telegraphic stations. Such establishments are not numerous here, but the one we were surveying deserved notice, as being, perhaps, an example of the longest line of communication that has been permanently established on this principle; since from that place to Signilscar is a distance of more than 28 English miles. It is curious, moreover, that it is claimed as an instance of original invention: it was erected by the president Edelcrantz, in September 1793, about four months after an experiment upon a similar construction had been exhibited at Paris, by M. Chappe, but this was, at the time, unknown to the Swedish projector.

The correspondence is carried on by numerals, answering to certain conventional syllables and words. The signs are made by nine flat boards, which may be turned edgeways or placed upright, similar to those adopted in the old French telegraphs and in our own, with this difference only, that an additional one is added at the top, in order to double, upon occasion, the number which has been indicated below. These nine boards were ranged in three upright lines, denoting the several places of units, tens, or hundreds respectively: the numbers adapted to them were 1, 2, 4, in each line, which will be found to afford the most useful combinations for expressing the digits, and indeed to answer every number up to 999, a limit admitting very sufficient powers of intercourse upon this principle.

Of the two telegraphs, that on the coast of Sweden alone was now remaining, for the Russians destroyed the other upon taking possession of the island of Signilscar.

The following short mineralogical account of Sweden is abridged from a public lecture, delivered before the Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, by Hisinger, than whom no one was better qualified to do justice to such an undertaking.

It commences by laying down the chief ranges of mountains*. The great central chain of the peninsula, dividing Norway and Sweden, branches out on both sides into innumerable lesser divisions. On the western or Norwegian slope the base is in general a rock of gneiss, covered with

* The height of the chief mountains, above the level of the sea, is given in Paris feet from the above mentioned essay.

Lapland.		Jemtland.		Norway.	
Sulitelma	5173	Syttorp	6652	Inshætan, highest of the Dofre chain	7620
Norden top	5796	The mountains of Dalecarlia, approaching the Norway frontier, are from 3000 to 4000.		Near Cape Nord, their elevation is about	3300
Vallispitz, near Quickjock	4100				

Vegetation is not found at an height exceeding 2000 feet above the line of perpetual congelation.

The vegetation of trees ceases in Jemtland, lat. 63½° at 3420 feet above the sea.

In the island of Stegen, lat. 68°, on the coast of Norway, at 1277.

The line of perpetual snow is carried in Lapland at Quickjock, lat. 67° 6′, to the height of 4100 feet.

In Norway (says de Busch) lat. 61° to 5200, lat. 62½° to 4860, lat. 67° to 3600, lat. 71° to 2200.

The line of perpetual snow on Chimboraço is at the height of 14,760 feet; on the southern side of the Alps at the height of 8400.

micaceous or argillaceous schist, on which repose transition rocks of limestone, argillaceous schist, sandstone, porphyry, grauwacke, &c. On the eastern side lies the country of Sweden, containing rocks chiefly similar to the above, of which a description is here subjoined.

Primitive rocks.

Granitic gneiss is the common basis, having in some part scarcely an appearance of stratification*; it contains many extraneous substances.

1. Hornblende, garnet, black tourmalin, iron in grains slightly oxidised, pyrites, and occasionally gadolinite and titanite.

2. The veins are filled with quartz, feldspar, and sometimes compact hornblende.

3. This formation is also rich in subordinate beds, mica slate, hornblende, limestone, talc, iron slightly oxidised, copper, pyrites, galena: these are rich enough to afford mines which amply repay the expense of working in Sudermania, Upland, Nericia, Ostrogothia, Westermania, Dalecarlia, Lapland, Westrogothia, &c.

Micaceous schist lies next in order, and is more regularly stratified: it covers the top of the central chain of moun-

* The gneiss is sometimes divided into banks or steps, as in M. Luppiovara and d'Avasana, in the parish of Ofver Tornea, as also near Carlstadt; sometimes in tables, as at the foot of Kineculle on the banks of the Wenner near Westerplanos; another variety is distinctly stratified, but the beds are thick and undulated; the sides of the L. Wenner are of this latter description.

tains, and some of the lateral branches: it never occurs in the plains, unless in subordinate beds to the gneiss.

Extraneous substances:

1. In the rock, chiefly garnet and hornblende.

2. In the veins, metal, as gold at Adelfors.

3. In the beds, iron oxidated, in a greater or less degree, copper pyrites, galena; sometimes these beds are united to an extraordinary thickness, and form what is called stockwerk, as at Fahlun: among the subordinate beds are lime, schistose hornblende, compact feldspar, quartz, talc, and schistose talc.

Primitive limestone lies on the lateral branches, as in Sudermania, to the extent of many miles, but very seldom on the great central chain. This rock never occurs (in thick beds at least) to the south of Ostrogothia, Westrogothia, and the Dahl. It sometimes contains manganese, sometimes magnesia (dolomite).

Extraneous substances:

1. Serpentine, tremolite, talc, hornblende, garnet, quartz, mica.

2. Beds of compact feldspar, iron slightly oxidised, copper pyrites, galena: the mines of Sakha, Häkansböda, Langbanskytta, and iron mines to the west of Norberg, lie in this rock.

Primitive argillaceous schist is found on the Dahl: another variety of a softer nature at Hellefors, in Westmania. This rock is found also near Saggatjervi in Lulea Lapland.

Quartz rock of a whitish or reddish colour, intermixed in parts with feldspar, in the mountains of Smöland and on the Dahl.

Porphyry of a brownish red colour; reposing on a bed of siliceous schist over the gneiss: in Smöland, near Sæthalla, Willkjol, and at Ingatop.

Hornblende often mixed with feldspar, copper pyrites, and sometimes mica, in Smöland. The mass of iron ore at Taberg belongs to this formation of grunstein: in the parishes of Olmchæsad, Væschærad, Nyed, in Wermeland, are rocks of gneiss, crowned with grunstein.

The inclination and direction of the mica, schist, and gneiss follow the same laws: on the central chain they seldom incline at an angle of more than 45°, but, on the branches, are sometimes nearly vertical.

Their direction is mostly parallel to that of the central chain, generally from N. E. to S. W.

Their inclination is more variable, sometimes to the west, but generally to the S. E. and E.

The inclination of all the primitive rocks, and also of the newer formations, follow the same order, and this too when their beds are almost vertical.

Transition rocks, the most ancient.

These occur more irregularly as to their number, in covering the primitive, but their relative age is well ascertained: the oldest are laid near the principal chain, and

even on the high mountains; the less ancient farther removed; the newest or secondary still farther on the side of Schonen.

The petrifications are of vegetable and animal species, no longer in existence. Ortoceralites, echinites, madrepores, entrochites, entomoli (paradoxi), anomites, mytilites, &c. rarely ammonites and lituites. They are found in the limestone, bituminous schist, argillaceous schist, and sometimes in the sandstone.

Veins are more uncommon than in the primitive rocks: fluate of lime, calcareous spar, galena, fill some veins in the *sandstone:* galena and blend, and iron with the slightest degree of oxidation in the *porphyry* of Elfdal: galena and blend in the *limestone* of Boda in Dalecarlia. The banks of *limestone* sometimes contain subordinate beds of argillaceous and marly schist, the bituminous schist producing alum, pierre de porc, and balls of hepatite. The secondary *sandstone* contains beds of *coal* and of *clay*. In the *chalk* are knots of flint: among the substances dispersed in the generality of beds, one ordinarily finds pyrites in the *bituminous schist* (whence its use in the manufactories of alum) as also in the *limestone*, sandstone, and grunstein. Yellow blend in the bituminous schist of Hunneberg, and grains of iron slightly oxidated, and leaves of mica are seen in the porphyry of Elfdal.

The mountain of Kurrovaara, in Tornea Lapland, is of *pudding stone*. The same rock appears on the chain of high

mountains (on the Norwegian frontier of Jemtland). Below this is, in many parts, *argillaceous schist*, apparently belonging to a formation of this epoch.

In descending from this last covering we meet at Sœrna, Elfdal, &c. a vast formation of siliceous sandstone; and above this, in the parish of Lima, *grunstein* in some places porphyrous, as also *amygdaloide*. In Elfdal and near Mora and Orssa, *porphyry*, a *conglomerate* of *porphyry*, *siliceous schist* and grunstein, in beds nearly horizontal. Leaving the high mountains, but yet among the elevated hills near the limit of the region of porphyry, one finds a less ancient formation of *sandstone* and *lime of transition*, which contains beds of argillaceous schist. The land is here and there covered with *puddingstone* and *sandstone*, with argillaceous and marly *schist* in the isles of Visingö, Rosknö, and some other summits; and by an uninterrupted suite of this description on the eastern side of this lake, at Nykyrka and Motala, as also near Grenna, &c.

Transition rocks, less ancient.

The general accord in their substances, their order, their structure, and their petrifications, are proofs of their contemporaneous formation; they are more regular than the former in their occurrence, and their position is generally horizontal. Two of these formations are placed high, near the great mountains in Jemtland and in Dalecarlia: the others are lower, and either surrounded with chains of hills, as in Nericia and Ostrogothia, or in the plains, as in

Skaraborg on the eastern side of Schonen. The most regular in occurrence are those in Westrogothia; they are not always contiguous, but form little hills, sometimes intersected by the primitive basis, gneiss: their order on the gneiss is thus, sandstone, bituminous schist, limestone, argillaceous schist, marly schist, and above all a bed of grunstein. Isolated masses of grunstein are found in some parts of Schonen.

Secondary rocks.

These are only found in the plains of Schonen, in the south. Near the sea at Helsinborg are beds of *sandstone* mixed with those of *coal* and *clay*, reposing on the sandstone of transition, which is found even in the middle of the country, and extends to the Baltic on the east. Near Oresund, south of Malmo, are beds of chalk with black flint: these beds continue under the sea, and are met again in Zealand and in the isles of Moen and Steven, in every other respect the same, but more elevated.

To the N. E. of Schonen, on a basis of gness, are the newest formations of secondary limestone, with shells slenderly united, and for the most part broken.

Alluvion.

This is composed of the debris of the above rocks in different gradation as to the size of the particles, large blocks, pebbles, gravel, common sand, and shifting sand. The direction of these from the mountains to which they

belong is to the S. and S. E., following in general the course of the valleys; those fragments that are the largest in size, and most frequent in occurrence, are on the high grounds, having been stopped in their progress by their weight, or by the ridges of the rocks. The *rideaux* of sand, found chiefly in the middle of Sweden, are generally in a direction parallel to the chief valleys, nearly from N. to S.

Clay is found mostly in the valleys of the mountains, and often covered with sand: in the plains resting on the primitive basis, it generally occurs in horizontal beds. When the base is lime it is mixed with other beds, as the debris of the rocks on which it lies. There occurs in Schonen a more refractory clay, that is fitted for the manufacture of pottery.

The beds of testaceous animals in a state of calcination are seen chiefly in the islands on the side of the government of Bohus, and on the land near Uddevalla, lying at an elevation of near 200 feet. Their analogous productions are generally found in the adjacent sea. The same sort of shelly appearance has been observed in the clay at Akesvass, during the excavation of the Trolhætan canal, as also at Lilla Edet; they lie about 100 feet above the level of the river.

Since iron is in the north so generally spread among the rocks, it is not surprising that we find its ores among the alluvial beds in grains, or more oxidated in the form of bog iron ore, or else deposed by the water in the form of ochre.

The beds of saline earth are not common, nor when they occur do they appear to be powerful; on the river Umea, in the province of Ostrogothia in Sudermania, and in the government of Skaraborg, are some springs slightly saline, though too weak to admit of being made use of for the extraction of salt.

SECTION III.

FINLAND—PETERSBURG.

Aland Islands—Abo—Present State of Finland—Sveaborg—Wiborg—Petersburg—Original Intention of Peter I.—Consequences of the System he adopted—State of Society—Nobles—Slaves—Tribunals of Justice—Emancipation—Education—Charitable Foundations—Court—Theatres, &c.—Government—Public Feeling with regard to present Politics—Trade—Manufactories—Employment of Foreigners—The Mint—Paper Money—Its Depreciation—The probable Cause—Commerce—Siberia—Embassy to China—Academy of Sciences—Casan Church—Religion—Sectarists—Superstition—Religious Ceremonies on Easter Eve—News of the Capture of Paris—Te Deum, Illumination, &c.—The Emperor—The fugitive Princes of Georgia—Severe Cold—Neva breaks up—Ice of the Ladoga descends—Return of warm Weather—Rapid Vegetation—Promenade—Orders of Knighthood—Imperial Palaces—Cronstadt, &c.

On setting foot in the Aland islands we passed the frontier of the Russian Empire, their coast being settled as the boundary by the treaty of 1809: it is singular, that notwithstanding their vicinity to Stockholm, so dangerous in case of a rupture, the Swedish government has since made no attempt to reclaim these important posts.

Our arrival at the first town, called Eckero, was of course succeeded by a visit from the customhouse officers to examine our baggage, and to demand (according to law) whether we had any Russian paper-money in our possession; for to carry it into the country, it seems, is, by no unwise policy, made an equal crime with its exportation. Our passports had been procured near two months before from Petersburg, as was necessarily the case with every foreigner, and the governor of Eckero (a lieutenant in the Russian service) was fully satisfied with the production of our documents.

The island scenery appeared, as we journeyed, even at this time, beautiful; the dark lush of the fir formed a strong contrast with the silvery fleeces of snow that roofed the forest, and the whole seemed to have assumed a new charm in this livery of winter. Our road was an undeviating line from place to place, no obstacle presented itself; we passed over the fields, through the woods, across the ice; hill and dale, land and water, were all alike: sometimes we traversed the rocky channel of a deep-bedded river, at other times wandered among the inlets of a lake, at others again steered our way between the islands over the open sea; the path was traced out on shore by large poles headed with straw, over the ice by boughs of trees, stationed at intervals, that drew a long thread over its surface to the very edge of the horizon; we were skirted, indeed, by one of these hedges in our passage across the Delet, for the distance of more than twenty English miles. The burden of

providing these necessary marks, is a duty that falls upon the inhabitants of the several parishes respectively; notice is given at the church as soon as the ice may be reckoned secure, and certain distances are allotted to the share of each individual. Without such an arrangement all communication would be entirely at an end, not only during the long winter nights, but every time that the snow was falling, or that a mist should arise to intercept the sight.

The cottages of the islanders were rough-hewn log houses, and they were themselves people apparently of such simple manners and habits, as their secluded situation and scanty number might lead one to expect: each rustic householder was provided with the tools and implements of a dozen necessary arts or professions, performing for himself with equal address the duties of carpenter, shoemaker, tailor, fisherman, baker, miller, &c. So little was the division of labour studied, or the appropriation of means, that we observed the corn-mills almost equalled in number the houses of the villages; they were cheap and of simple form, acting by sails constructed of wooden planks, and their mill-stones shaped like the querne or old Celtic machine for grinding with the hand.

Luxuries, such as ochre paint for their cabins, or coats of woollen cloth, where sheep-skins would suffice, were not common. Caps of the most ordinary fur served as covering for their heads; and for their feet the want of shoes was supplied by a mis-shapen bag of dried seal-skin: the harness of their horses consisted of nothing more than a plain col-

lar attached to the shafts of the cart or sledge; the horse's neck was thrust in, and he had nothing to do but proceed: the contrivance answers all the purposes of draught, because neither here nor in Sweden is the animal trained to resist the weight of the carriage on a descent, however steep it may be.

Very little grain is produced; the chief dependance of the people is placed on the purchases they are enabled to make at Stockholm by the sale of their wood. For our own subsistence, it was absolutely necessary to carry with us our provisions: coffee was the only article of luxury which they had hoarded up for the use of a chance traveller. We cut off our meat and bread, as occasion required, from our store with a cleaver or hatchet, and having been dressed at Stockholm before we set out, the beef steaks, &c. were unfrozen by the application of cold water, then placed for a few minutes in the stove-oven, and served up to table as if fresh from the hand of the cook. Our wine and brandy underwent a partial decomposition, and the watery particles were converted to a core of ice: nevertheless, after what we had before endured, the weather could not now be called severe, except during a few hours of the night, and these accidents were regarded but as so many agreeable novelties that relieved the weariness of our journey.

Four days were spent in our passage, when we once more set our feet on the continent, and after a short stage arrived at Abo, the great university of Finland, where

we thought a halt for a short time might not be ill requited.

The first establishments for literature were founded during the minority of Christina in 1640; but the buildings of the college have been lately renewed at the expense of the present Emperor of Russia; nor was his generosity confined to the act of giving alone, but, with a truly liberal spirit, he has deigned to follow the plan that was intended to have been put in execution by Gustavus IV. It is a plain edifice constructed with the red granite of the country, containing the several lecture-rooms, a library, a consistory, and a hall for state occasions; the last in an unfinished state, but shewing great promise of magnificence. It is adorned with some beautiful columns of polished granite, and (as we particularly remarked) with the bust of its intentional, as well as its real benefactor. There were also six *bas reliefs* in compartments on the wall, executed by a pupil of Sergel, and neither deficient in taste or spirit: their subjects were illustrative of the history of learning in these parts, and commenced with a fable from the Edda of the miracles of Vienamunda, the Finnish Orpheus, who taught the bears (the undoubted aborigines) to dance to the sound of his oaten pipe: the series finished with a representation in prospect of the ceremonies that were yet to take place on the solemn inauguration of the Emperor Alexander.

The professors are eighteen in number, and enjoy each a salary of 4000 roubles per annum from the crown, besides ten from every student attending the lectures. The number

of these is large, since a degree is made a necessary qualification also in Russia for attaining not only the inferior offices of state, but becomes also a title for a certain rank in the army; one year's residence at a university, however, is requisite in order to obtain it.

The cathedral is a plain edifice, though erected in a more tasteful style than Abo Slött, or Castle; the latter deserves the traveller's notice only as being celebrated in Swedish history for the capture of John III. by Eric XIV.: after which, by a singular reverse of fortune, it became for some time the prison of Eric himself.

On Sunday we attended divine service in the Lutheran church, for this is the prevalent religion here as in Sweden: the officiating minister, previous to his concluding prayer, read out to us with an audible voice a list of the births, deaths, and marriages of the preceding week, as I believe is customary in that religion. His succeeding catalogue somewhat surprised us: he recounted the sales of houses made, or about to be made, and then added the directions of the unclaimed letters now lying at the post-office, with some other notices of a similar description: it is a singular practice, but nevertheless one that is infinitely useful in such a country as Finland, and I must add in compliment to the piety of the Fins, that certainly no other mode of publication would have given these matters an equal chance of notoriety.

The solemnization of marriages takes place only once a year, and that on a fixed day in the teeming autumn. Be-

fore this time arrives, the expectant lover is not permitted, by the custom of the land, to pay his addresses in person to the object of his wishes: his offer is made by sending a piece of money, that is accepted or not as the fair one is inclined to approve or reject his suit: but both the conveyance of this token of love and the whole of the after-ceremonials of courtship are carried on through the intervention of some old woman of the village, whose occupation and calling may seem enviable to some bustling gentlewomen in other countries, being that of a regularly established match-maker.

We first heard the sound of the Finnish language* at Varsala, in one of the Aland islands; it was a matter of astonishment to recognise again the Swedish tongue upon our reaching the third stage from Abo; and on pursuing our journey we found it prevailed for a considerable distance: it is possible that this change may only have taken effect on the coast in consequence of the former frequent communications by sea with the Swedes; but the fact of its existence is authenticated by better evidence than the cursory observations of a traveller.

The Finnish is by no means so harmonious as the Swedish language, which may be called a softer dialect of the German: its roots indeed are from a different stock, and it is well known to be nearly the same as the vernacular lan-

* This language has the peculiarity of being without prepositions; to remedy which defect, the cases of the nouns are varied to the number of sixteen.

guage of Hungary; bearing also in common with that tongue the strongest affinity to a dialect spoken in some parts of the north of Asia.

These several nations, however remote their present settlements, are traced to one common Scythian stem. The ancient Ouigres of Siberia, a short time before the Christian æra, separated themselves into two distinct hordes; the Uni-ouigres wandered to the north, the Tokos-ouigres to the south, fixing their capital not far from the city of Turphan. From the migrations of the last arose the Huns, from the former the Samoyedes, Vogouls, Ostiaks, Tchouvaks (Livonians) Tcheremisses, Permians, Fins, Laplanders.

Upon a general view of their condition, these people are not much improved (the rustics at least) since the days when we first hear their names mentioned; and the short pithy description of Tacitus is often quoted in allusion to their present habits and character. It would be unfair to expect much of such a nation, considering that in addition to the incapacitating rigour of their climate, they have, for a great part of the intervening ages, laboured under the subjection of their more powerful neighbours: the continual prey of the kings of the Goths and Vandals on the one side, or of the Emperor of all the Russias on the other. We hear no more of their native kings after the time that Eric II., at the close of the ninth century, added Finland to the crown of Sweden.

I do not know that their late annexation to the Russian

dominions has been productive of any symptoms of discontent or ill-will: the peasants in Aland, it is true, complained of the exactions of the soldiery, and, generally speaking, their honest prejudices seemed to incline them in favour of the government they had been so long accustomed to obey. Yet the more wealthy and thinking classes cannot but feel the advantages of their present situation: incorporated with a more powerful state, they are delivered from the perpetual dread of seeing their country made the seat of war: their trade and commerce is more free, and more liberally encouraged, while, as far as it can be made compatible with the Russian system, they are granted the exercise of their ancient liberties, customs, and privileges; for the policy that attends the Russian schemes of aggrandizement in this respect as well as others, is ever that of the Roman conqueror.

Still farther to conciliate the people, several other allowances have been made in their favour: not only are they exempted from furnishing draughts for the army, but they were relieved from taxation during the first three years after the act of incorporation; all previous arrears were cancelled; and of the sums now levied, two-thirds are made payable in kind, at the option of the individual. The amount is greater than what they formerly paid, but in part only nominally so, by reason of the depreciation of the paper. A still more beneficial regulation of the emperor is, an order that the whole of the sum thus raised should be expended in the improvement of these provinces alone,

whereby much has been done: besides other plans, two banks were set up Abo*; one for discounting bills, and one for uttering notes; to the former, as it would be some time before any great profit could be returned, a donation was made of 100,000 roubles towards establishing a fund. The excellent effects of these establishments have been very generally felt, and it is said (by the Russians at least) that no bankruptcy has taken place at Abo for these last four years, though failures were frequent before this golden æra.

The minister, to whose hands the administration of the provinces of Finland was entrusted, was at this time himself a native, the celebrated Count Armfeldt, *Chevalier* (as his style runs) *de tous les ordres du Nord.* He was once the favourite and bosom friend of Gustavus III., and for many years a leading character at the court of Stockholm, as well as a distinguished commander in the field.

There is a military governor constantly resident at Abo: the office was now filled by General Count Steinhill, the same officer who so honourably distinguished himself under Wittgenstein in the defence of Riga.

On the 2d of March we set out on our road for Helsingfors, whither, notwithstanding the reputed celerity of

* The chief trade of Abo is in timber: it was now reckoned dear; a piece of eight yards in length, and squaring upwards of one foot, was in value 6 R. D. B.
Small timber: two pieces of ten or twelve yards in length, 1 R. D. B.
Posting: six copecks per verst, or two-thirds of an English mile.
Day labour 24 schillings. Corn per coul 12 R. D. B.
200 denuscas = 100 copecks = 1 rouble = (in paper) 10½d. English.

sledge travelling, we did not arrive till late in the following day. We had just satisfied our hunger at the hotel, when the church bell tolled, and the muffled drum was beat with a tone that sounded mournfully amidst the stillness of a winter evening; it was for the purpose of announcing to the public the appearance of one of the greatest subjects of alarm in these countries—a conflagration. Our curiosity led us out of doors, where a strong bright flame issuing from a distant island, which we were told was Sveaborg, pointed out the source of alarm, and seemed to direct the steps of the crowd that assembled from all quarters. On arriving we found that a large house had taken fire from a wooden windmill, which (as is the custom) was affixed to its roof. The building was in a short time consumed to ashes; little other mischief, however, ensued, although it would be impossible to compliment very highly the skill of those engaged in extinguishing the fire. A sight of this nature is never devoid of certain features of grandeur and sublimity, and the peculiar circumstances of the place rendered it here wonderfully striking; the glare of its pale light reflected over the snow for many a dreary mile, added to the general confusion and hurry of the moment, presented a scene that amply repaid us for our trip of five versts, even during this weather, over the frozen sea, and was a sight which no lapse of time will ever efface from my recollection.

About two years ago a similar accident occurred at the town of Helsingfors, and was attended with consequences infinitely more destructive.

The emperor, however, shewed his usual generosity in making a loan of 100,000 R. to the sufferers on handsome terms; repayment was required to be made by instalments, and the whole to be completed in the course of twenty years; the houses of the town were in consequence already rebuilt, and, for the most part, in a neat and comfortable condition.

On the following morning we revisited the fortress, and by favour of a letter to Admiral Badisco, were permitted to view the place. The harbour, whose surface we had traversed on this excursion for about four English miles, is capable of holding sixty sail of the line or more. It is protected by six islands strongly fortified; the three largest of which, being connected together by bridges, form the fortress of Sveaborg. The works are partly blasted from the granite rock, and partly built of masonry from the same material: they mount upwards of 800 pieces of cannon, and contain barracks and casemates for a garrison of 12,000 men, so that ample provision is made in this respect for its defence.

The fort commanding the passage of entrance occupies the crown of a cliff that rises to more than forty feet of elevation above the sea, and displays a prodigious shew of ordnance. At the foot of this, on the southernmost point, a well has been sunk through the rock, from whence, for nothing is wanting to complete the strength of the place, the garrison may be at all times supplied with water. With these advantages it is singular that a strange instance of

neglect occurred in its construction, for the island rising on the other side of the passage, which is too high to be brought under the guns of any part of the fort, has not been occupied by fortifications: but the Russian government have projected a scheme of improvement, which will probably embrace this spot amongst others; it is their intention also to make alterations in various parts of the works that are defective in many essential points. They were first constructed by Ehrensvard, a Swedish engineer, in 1748, and will ever stand as a curious example of the insufficiency of the best measures which political foresight is able to provide; for it is a fact, that notwithstanding the boasted strength of these works, they have not, at any time of trial, afforded the least advantage to the government which bore the expense of their erection: but were given up to Russia by treachery, both in the first and second wars of Finland.

At the back of this island is another large fort, and below this are the rope-walks, the naval arsenals, &c. There were also eight docks intended to be covered for the reception of frigates of the largest class: though they were now incomplete, nothing appearing except the pillars that were to form their sides. A large flotilla of gun-boats and some small ships were moored in the bason; the former chiefly drawn on shore, and the latter, for security's sake, moated round by a channel that was daily sawn out from the ice, to prevent the injury that would otherwise ensue to the hulls from its expansive force. This, however, seemed a

very common precaution. The other works and buildings that covered the rock, with the walls erected on the northern side of the fort, being of wood and earth, were not worthy of remark.

After our walk we had the pleasure of dining with the hospitable admiral, who spoke English extremely well, an accomplishment, however, that is by no means uncommon in the Russian navy, since so many of the officers have at one time served in the British fleet. Dinner concluded, we sallied forth again, and partook, for the first time, of the amusements of the ice-hill, the merry-go-round, &c. and what was still more diverting, made a trip over the sea in a vessel moving with skaits on the ice: it was a frame of wood laid down as the deck of a ship: two skaits were placed under the bows, and a third, being moveable on a pivot, supplied the place of a rudder: for obvious reasons, she was rather awkward in her stays, and unless her crew shifted their seat from one side to the other with great adroitness, was infallibly overset. Her motion was tremendously rapid, and she held a complement of twenty or thirty persons; but as the snow was necessarily cleared out for her track, the voyage was limited; the circuit was ingeniously carried in the form of a pentagon, so as to enable her to take advantage of every wind.

All these preparations for public amusement were now deserted by the public on account of the feast of Lent, which is held by the Russians with the strictest observance.

We finished our evening at the little theatre of Helsingfors, and at night resumed our journey. Our next hundred

versts were, in appearance, dreary and lonely enough both by night and day: here and there the distant tinkling of the sledge bell of some chance traveller or courier met the ear, or occasionally the voice of the peasant at work with his snow-plough to clear the road. Except this, every object around bore the aspect of uninterrupted solitude: with regard to scenery, the same interchange of rocky hills, frozen lakes, and forests of fir, wrapt in one universal mantle of snow, accompanied us every where, that scarce may be said to afford any variety capable of giving substantial relief to the eye.

In our next day's journey, at a short distance from the town of Fredericksham, we passed the bridge that once marked the point of separation between Swedish and Russian Finland. It claims a sort of historical notoriety from the mad caprice of the late Gustavus Adolphus, who, outstripping the limits of his jurisdiction, ordered the half of the bridge on the Russian side, as well as that on his own, to be painted with the Swedish colours: this pitiful act of aggression afterwards formed one of the pretexts of a war that led his country to the very brink of destruction, and, by its consequences, deprived the ancient blood of Vasa of their inheritance.

However vague and ideal these marks of geographical boundary may appear, it must be allowed that on passing the line an almost instantaneous difference is every where apparent: the inhabitants of this province have assimilated themselves entirely to the taste and manners of their con-

querors, and, mixed with numerous resident settlers, are now become a truly Russian people.

On waking at an early hour after a sound sleep in my sledge, I gazed with wonder at the spectacle that presented itself in the streets of Wyborg: the glare of white houses, their green roofs and oriental cupolas, the noble mansions of the wealthy and the religious fane, all so spacious and splendid in comparison of what we had lately been accustomed to see; and yet above all, the new costume of the bystanders dressed in long caftans, their bare necks, their flowing beards, their sash, cap, and boots of red, were altogether objects so singular, that the spectacle impressed itself on my mind rather as a dream of the morning than as a scene of real life. The men seemed quite another race of beings; no longer the modest homely Fin, but persons of strong masculine habit, carrying a stubborn and listless mien, that, combined with their majestic stature, seemed not altogether devoid of dignity: while the coloured ornaments with which they were set off lent them an air of grotesque magnificence, not ill according with the shewy buildings that surrounded us; every object, in short, which met our eyes, partook of the same character, and bore a hint of Asiatic origin.

We strolled about the town for some hours in contemplation of these novelties, and employed ourselves in taking a survey of the castle, which is an interesting building, and of other remains of the old town. If we are inclined from its present aspect to make any enquiry about the past, it

will be necessary to recur to the Swedish history, and to those times when Russia held a different rank from what she has now attained in the scale of European nations.

Wyborg was founded by Birger Jahl in the thirteenth century, as a military hold that should enable him to check the increasing power of the republic of Novgorod, so famous in those days. We hear its name but seldom mentioned afterwards till its capture by Peter I. in the year 1711, when its possession was thought necessary to ensure the security of the new metropolis. Its fortifications still remain, though somewhat in a dilapidated state and regarded as of little use.

On quitting the environs of this town, all the gaudy splendour we had so much admired instantly vanished, and we found ourselves again transported to the forests, and the rocks, and boundless regions of snow. The villages we saw were of the meanest appearance and character, for whatsoever in this country is not made for display and shew, is poor indeed; and by our recollection of the different state of things we had left behind, Sweden was now as much raised as she had before been sunk on comparison. Instead of the neat-built red-ochred cottages, the road-side was disfigured by large dismal huts with walls made of the round trunks of trees barely stripped of their bark, and resembling, externally, a casual pile of timber, rather than a human dwelling. The interstices of this frame-work were caulked with moss and clay, and though a few glazed windows were seen, their place was generally supplied by square open crannies. These structures called

to mind the first rude efforts of primitive man after he left the shelter of the forest oak, and looked as if age after age had passed over the heads of the people without their attempting any improvement in the arts of civil life. The ancient Russian Chronicles, who speak of the founder of any place as having *cut the town* (*roubitgorod*) might easily be supposed to be describing in that phrase the builders of the present day:—so little different is the modern process; the felling of the timber, in fact, is the only part of the labour which a peasant thinks it behoves him to calculate when about to erect his habitation.

The roads being more beaten as we advanced towards the capital, were, in some parts, worn bare to the balks that formed their substratum; in others, where the snow had drifted, they were furrowed with deep hollows interposed in succession for a considerable distance, giving an undulatory motion to the sledge of the most disagreeable sensation. But even without any additional grievances, a speedy termination of our journey was an highly agreeable prospect at this season, and it was with no small joy that, as we descended from the last of the hills of Finland to the woody plains of Ingria, we discovered the white line of the frozen sea crowned with the steeples and domes of Petersburg.

A wild uncultivated tract was now traversed for about twelve versts, when on a sudden we found ourselves ushered into the *fauxbourgs* of the town, and again enjoyed a glimpse of Russian grandeur. Here all that we saw was

on a great scale indeed; and on passing to the banks of the Neva we came at once in sight of the glory of the fairest city of the world. It was a scene at once gay, lively, and sublime; replete with every fancied ornament that taste and wealth could bestow, it united in the same view all the elegant symmetries of Grecian and Roman art, with the gorgeous pride of the East.

The Marble Palace, the Imperial Winter Residence, the Admiralty, the Isaac Church, the Academy, the Fortress, and a thousand other sumptuous edifices, rose on either side over the quays of granite, and lined the long perspective till it was almost lost in the distance. Their colours were varied but harmonious, and the white surface of the river lying between them was spotted with a thousand figures, which flitted in rapid succession before our eyes. To add to the pleasure arising from this spectacle, we were fortunate in the state of the weather; it was a serene and tranquil sunset, the departing ray glancing through the avenue of a lofty colonnade that rose in our front, shed a blaze on the gilt spires and domes around us, and brightened with fresh lustre the gloomy splendour of a winter evening.

It is not possible to give an account capable of pourtraying faithfully the surprise and astonishment generally experienced by the stranger, who, after the wild country he has just quitted, enters the city of Petersburg: its effect would be stupendous even without the aid of this contrast: whatever beauties may have been shadowed out by imaginary anticipation, every idea falls short of the excellence

of the original, and every former relation one has heard seems to describe it in terms of admiration far too cold. It is a city of new-built palaces, where the residences of individuals vie with the effusions of imperial magnificence, and where the buildings, destined for public works, hold a rank of ostentation still more striking, and are of a magnitude well agreeing with the mighty concerns of this vast empire.

In the middle is the quarter of the Vassili-ostrof, built on an island formed by the river, and connected with the city on either side by bridges of boats: on the right bank lies the old town, with the cottage of Peter I. yet standing; on the left is the new town, divided by three canals, taking their course in a concentric semi-circular direction through the several quarters of the place, and furnishing, with their bridges and quays of granite, and balustrades of iron, many additional embellishments to its general appearance. Nor are they merely ornamental, for, besides their use as drains to the swamp on which the whole is built, they afford a vent to the inundations that sometimes arise from the temporary accumulation of the waters of the gulf under a westerly wind, and which about half a century* since had so near overwhelmed the infant city.

Three long, straight, and level streets (one of which, St. A. Newsky, extends five versts) branch out from the centre of the Admiralty, where the lofty gilt spire and dome

* In the year 1777.

form in each line an object for the termination of the vista. These streets are again intersected by others to the north and south, almost uniform in their direction, but varied here and there with frequent and handsome esplanades.

The houses are (like those of most cities on the continent) built of brick, faced with stucco; the composition, though it is not liable to be destroyed by a humid atmosphere like that of England, yet the changes of weather, from the extremes of heat and cold, materially affect its durability; it generally, indeed, requires repair at the end of two years. The gay dwellings are coloured white or yellow, and finished with roofs of thin iron plates painted of a black, a red, or, as is the favourite mode, a green hue, being a tint that is procured from a mineral oxide of copper at no great expense.

Foreign architects, Italians, and others, who have been attracted hither by the lucrative patronage of the court, are, for the most part, the authors of every architectural design that is executed: and nothing can exceed the models that are given of elegant taste and style; barely to mention the objects worthy of description, would be to draw out a tedious and fulsome catalogue of magnificence.

The fashionable promenade of the *boulevards* consists of three avenues of trees in front of the Admiralty, a building which exhibits perhaps the longest regular *façade* in Europe: it is upwards of a quarter of an English mile in extent, adorned at intervals with six several porticos, and surmounted, rather fantastically it is true, with a thin taper

dome and spire. The air of this structure is at present much disfigured by the ramparts and ditch which the mad Emperor Paul caused to be constructed in the very heart of the city round three of its sides. The fourth side, or the back, is open to the river, and occupied by the dock-yard and slips for ship-building.

Immediately below the *boulevards* is the Isaac Place, where stands the equestrian statue of Peter the First. This work, which is by Falconet, in itself, perhaps, possesses no extraordinary merit, but derives its chief celebrity from the gigantic mass of granite that forms its pedestal, and which was brought, as is well known, with great mechanical skill and ingenuity from a morass at a considerable distance. Its weight was 1600 tons, but the original size is much reduced, and its shape impaired by the injudicious application of the chisel. A large block is also added on one side, which still more impairs the effect of surprise intended to be excited on the spectator's mind on beholding this mighty miracle of Catharine's reign.

In the month of May, 1803, on the day that completed the first century since the foundations of the city were laid, an interesting exhibition was made on this spot. The centennial jubilee was announced in by peals of ordnance from the fortress, the ringing of bells, and all the demonstrations of a grand fête: the hulk of the first ship built at Petersburg, being yet in existence, was brought down the river and moored opposite to Peter's statue; and close alongside of her lay a new ship decorated with flags, streamers, and

garlands, whose launch had taken place in the morning. A solemn military procession succeeded, and 30,000 troops of the line in parade uniform, with colours flying, and accompanied by bands of martial music, defiled around the hero's effigy.

It is worth while to pause here a little on the reflection which such a spectacle must naturally have suggested at this day, and on the designs of the great monarch, who bade the race of savages start at once into civilisation, and called to birth this enchanted city from the midst of a desert. But notwithstanding the imposing aspect which such a place affords, and the wealth and power and consequence that its erection has produced to the empire of Russia, its real advantages have perhaps been somewhat overrated by the warm panegyrists of its founder.

It is beyond a doubt that it was not his original intention to have erected his new capital in this situation; a plan is preserved in the Imperial Archives which details a scheme for building a great city at Nisni Novgorod, and there fixing the imperial residence. Seated at the conflux of the Volga and the Oka in a country the most fertile, and in a central point that would have united the seat of supreme power with the natural focus of commercial circulation, it would have possessed numerous advantages that Petersburg can never attain; neither was it to be disregarded that its locality would have enabled the government at all times to check and overawe, with little effort, the several more remote parts of the empire.

With regard to Petersburg itself, it was not, it is said, his intention that the place should have increased to that disproportionate and unwieldy bulk to which it has latterly been forced, in spite of the disadvantages of its position. He meant to unite here the court and the mercantile world, but never could have wished the influx of settlers to be so great, as in some measure to curtail the benefits of his commercial scheme.

A port opening to the Baltic was necessary to him, and he was constrained to seek a spot whose remote situation might secure him against the hostility of Sweden; but this very circumstance, as it carried him to an almost inaccessible place on the utmost verge of his dominions, infinitely augmented the difficulty of supplying* his city with provisions, and could not fail to have the effect of enhancing the prices of all articles, both to the inhabitant of what he bought from the peasant, and to the peasant of whatever he carried back in exchange. Thus the value of colonial produce and manufactures, and every thing which the people of the country stand in need of, is increased in more than a fair proportion; and the effect of an inordinate augmentation of prices in this way is very different from that which is the consequence of a more intimate and more abundant circulation of wealth. Had the project before mentioned been carried into execution, or indeed had the mode-

* The supply of cattle is chiefly from the Ukraine, and the necessary article of grain from the provinces of the Volga: even of firewood near 200,000 fathoms are annually brought from a distance.

rate schemes of reform projected by Gallitzin (the minister of Sophia) taken place, instead of the violent and immature changes which this mighty man effected, Russia would have grown, in the quiet and natural order of things, to a state of power and command, that would have in time developed a force capable of inspiring dread to all the nations of Europe. In her present circumstances I cannot suppose that there really exists so great and immediate a cause for alarm as some speculatists are wont to imagine. Men and money do not constitute national power and wealth, but the efficiency of one, and the circulation of the other. As matters are now arranged, the internal state of Russia militates in the strongest way against the improvement of her means; and some few examples of the moral disabilities under which she labours will be detailed in these pages.

Oppressed as she is by an autocratical government, with an all-powerful nobility, with an half digested feodal system, with an incapacitating spirit of corruption in every branch of administration, with foreigners in possession of every post of honour or profit; it is not too much to say that Russia has reached in the present reign the highest pinnacle of rank and power which her circumstances can ever admit her to attain, and should an alteration in her system be contemplated, it is hardly possible from such a melange of incongruities to augur that any change should be lasting, or productive in the end of consequences really beneficial to herself. The imperial authority, now all-powerful, will

hereafter find itself unable to check the influence of knowledge and sense of partial liberty that daily diffuse themselves more and more throughout the nation. It requires no great foresight to predict the divisions and factions that must ultimately arise from the irregular distribution of wealth and power over so enormous an extent of territory; and wheresoever accident shall cast the balance, it will be an easy task of ambition to throw off all dependance on the semi-Russian capital: the storm is now preparing, and every fresh act of aggrandisement brings nearer the hour of dissolution.

As to other prospects, and the view in which her preponderating strength may be regarded by her neighbours, it should be remembered that Russia has not hitherto been able to bring into the field an army capable of overwhelming any one of the superior states of Europe; though supposing that she were, in the existing state of the civilised world, it is not by the inroad of numerous hordes that European independence is threatened, but by the country which shall have advanced to the highest degree of eminence, activity, and skill, in arts and in science, in intelligence, in wealth: this superiority alone can ever justly be looked upon with fear, and notwithstanding the laudable efforts they have made, the Russians cannot be said even to approximate to such a state at this epoch. The nation has made great efforts, but there yet remains much to be done. It was well answered by a foreigner to a person who asked why the old style was still adhered to in the

Russian calendar; in order, said he, that they may imagine themselves only twelve days behind the rest of Europe, when in fact they are a whole century in arrear.

But notwithstanding this, such is the covetous system of encroachment which Russia invariably pursues, and such her insatiable policy, that in spite of appearances we must not be lulled into security; affairs may take a different turn from what their present aspect seems to promise; and even in case our surmises prove well founded, it should be held in mind that the dissolution of so mighty a mass is not in itself an object to be viewed with unconcern, but its fall may involve many others also in destruction, and encumber all Europe with the ruins.

Having here alluded to the progress of civilisation, I must add, that it is not intended to convey any undue satire upon the Russian people, who have been already calumniated more than enough, both by English and French writers. General conclusions have been drawn from particular instances of misconduct or meanness; habits common to all the continent have been quoted as peculiar to them alone; and manners and usages that really were their own, and from that circumstance deserved a milder judgment, have been exaggerated into heinous crimes, with the most indecent acrimony. In other instances different ranks have been confounded, and sketches of high life given by those who appear seldom to have mixed with even the better classes of society; while facts which only appeared in a bad light from the temporary irritation of the

traveller's mind have been misquoted and applied as evidences of the real Russian character; although nothing could be more out of place than the idea of *generalising* on the subject.

Besides this, allowances are to be made for the unintentional errors which even the most accurate observer is liable to make, in consequence of the singular spectacle which the inhabitants of this country afford. They are a people, half European, half Asiatic, who, from a state of barbarism, have been forced into immature civilisation, and whose frame of society has been injudiciously reorganised on principles borrowed from nations of the highest refinement and polish. Under such circumstances, the same laws are frequently productive in their operation of a totally different, perhaps opposite effect; and their results manifested in a shape not always intelligible to the eye of a foreigner. Were they a race of savages, one might reason on their moral condition as philosophers; if a community perfectly refined, as politicians; but their present state baffles the usual modes of enquiry, and is referable to no scheme of analytical rule whatsoever. Many of the laws and customs appear, at first sight, contradictory to themselves, and repugnant to the general system of order and policy, and certainly they do not correspond to the idea we form upon such subjects; but upon more mature observation, when even a short residence has given some little insight to the nature of things, we shall find these regulations admirably calculated for the genius and character of

those to whom they are addressed, and to contain the only principles that are in fact well suited to their condition. Frequently, again, in a case where we object to the conduct of some individual, we shall discover upon reflection that he has not only acted like the rest of his countrymen, but, under existing circumstances, chosen the best and wisest course which it was in his power to adopt. Looking to society in Russia, we shall find that there exists in fact only two distinct orders, the nobles and the slaves. The interval between these classes, as far as the purposes of life are concerned, is filled up by foreign residents, who once exclusively negotiated all the more lucrative branches of commerce, and now participate them with only a few of the natives. It is true that some slaves have received their liberty, and they have been said to compose a *tiers état;* but they are in number so few, when compared with the mass, as to be scarce worthy of mention, and are so far (politically speaking) from forming a class apart, that they are unable to sustain the place in society which they ought to occupy: the very act of manumission itself is considered as prejudicial rather than advantageous to a man's interest; he becomes an isolated creature, whose claims and rights are neither known nor respected; he is unable to protect himself, and being without a claim to the guardianship of a seigneur, soon falls a prey to the rapacity of the police or other corrupt administrators of the government.

The privileges of a nobleman consist in being exempted from military conscription and from corporal punishment,

in having the right to establish manufactories, to possess land and slaves, to impose taxes and to inflict chastisement upon them, &c. The charges on this class are to furnish recruits to the crown, and to pay a certain fee on the alienation of their property. The titular nobility are numerous, because the titles descend to all the children; but besides those who enjoy the above-mentioned rights by inheritance, these advantages are attached to certain stations in the civil and military lines: assessors in the chancery, for instance, and all officers of the army or navy, are called noble, though the possession of slaves is limited to persons above the rank of major. The imperial companies of trade at Petersburg, also, participate certain of these immunities, and are allowed to use carriages with one pair of horses.

Among the hereditary nobility are many families of high antiquity. The Gallitzins claim descent from the dukes of Lithuania, the Dolgorucki (once princes of Tchernigoff) as well as the Bielosovski, and other families, trace their line to the conqueror Rurick, the founder of the Russian sovereignty; with these are several that date their titles from the reign of Peter, of Catherine, or of Paul, when new creations were not unfrequent, in consequence of the predominant system of favouritism. An anecdote of Suwarrow bears ample testimony to the capricious patronage of the last mentioned monarch. It is related, that seeing a servant pass by, dressed in a smart laced livery, and set off with a cocked hat of the accustomed Russian dimensions, he uncovered his head and bowed to him most courteously. A

friend standing by, thinking the field marshal had saluted this person through inadvertency, informed him of the error, adding, that it was no other than a valet to whom he had shewn such profound marks of respect. "It may be," said Suwarrow, "but the valet will, perhaps, be made a "count in a month or two; strange things come to pass; "he will be a great man at court one day or other, and "an old soldier may, perhaps, have need to solicit his pa- "tronage."

All distinctions of family, however, were confounded by one levelling act that took place in the reign of Feodor Alexievitch: the numerous records and pedigrees of the nobility were collected, and in order to put an end to the feuds and quarrels that daily arose from contention for precedence, were consigned to the flames together; one step more was taken in the succeeding reign, when the titles of kniaz (generally translated prince) of count, and of baron, lost their several pretensions, and Peter I. subjected all ranks alike to the standard of military office, exciting by this means a passion for a martial life, that has since proved well suited to the schemes of his policy. The system is not attended with those ridiculous inconveniencies that some persons have supposed. It sounds singular, no doubt, to our ears, to be told that the maids of honour are major generals by virtue of their office, and on looking at the choir of the chapel royal, to be informed that his excellency the singing master has the same title: yet the distinction is, in fact, but a nominal one, and answers the same pur-

pose as any other rule of priority which might be made the basis of a table of precedence. An unmarried lady, in the service of the empress, must have rank in her own person, and the discretion with which it is bestowed, either in this case or in the other, depends only on the etiquette observed at the court, or the value which is attached to such a name. The name of general does not give any command in the army to those employed in the civil service, or even the liberty to wear the military uniform; and if that line is afterwards adopted, the transfer is made according to a certain rule of exchange; a *conseiller intime*, with rank of major general, enters the army as a major only; a *gentilhomme de chambre*, with rank of lieutenant colonel, enters as a simple lieutenant, and others in similar proportion.

The power exercised by the emperor over all these classes of the nobility is of as extraordinary a nature as the dominion of the latter over their slaves; neither can they marry without the imperial consent, or select for themselves a profession; and their property, though by more indirect means, is in some sort subjected to the same authority. An instance of this lately happened: a certain nobleman indulged his passion for ostentation by giving a splendid entertainment to his majesty, at Petersburg: well knowing the embarrassed circumstances of his host, the emperor enquired whence the funds for this expenditure arose: he was answered, humorously enough, that the expense was very trifling; the whole was afforded for two hundred roubles, being the amount of the duty laid upon the sale of land. This

was at the moment well received, it passed off, and no more was said. But lo! on the following day an ukase issued forth, ordaining that no court of justice should admit the prosecution of any claims whatever on this nobleman's estates, dated after the promulgation of the same; whereby it became impossible for the prodigal to borrow more money, since he could offer the lender nothing but an unprofitable security; and the hereditary possessions were preserved by a despotic though salutary act, for the inheritance of his children.

It was by a similar stretch of paramount authority that certain lands, the subject of long contest in the courts of law, between the Dolgorucki and Havansky families, changed alternately from hand to hand five times during the course of the last century, according as one party or the other happened, at the time of prosecution of their suit, to be highest in favour at the imperial court. But occurrences of this sort, it need scarce be added, are not frequent, though the power still remains.

The private fortunes of some individuals are of an enormous extent, such as are met with in scarcely any other part of Europe; they are equal in nominal amount to the incomes of the wealthiest proprietors in Great Britain, and when referred to the comparative scale of the prices of articles in each country respectively, must be pronounced infinitely superior in real value. Their expenditure also corresponds with their means, or not unfrequently exceeds them; but habits of shew and magnificence are now grown

upon them as a part of their nature, and are impossible to be restrained. Every thought with a Russian savours of greatness; all about him bears a striking and imposing air; he neglects the observance of those minutiæ that compose the real comfort of an Englishman, and is delighted with a dazzling aspect, because it suits the sphere of his ideas. They are as yet a young nation, and better pleased by shew than reality. Generally they are accused of too great a fondness for ostentation, and it is partly true; but we must confess, it is always the splendour of an hospitable and liberal mind which they exhibit, the pride of display does not shew itself in a coarse luxuriant profusion, but is regulated in each branch with taste and elegance, and supported by the introduction of the choicest articles from every quarter of the globe.

As a specimen of the grand style of entertainment, that which was given by Scheremetov to the Emperor Alexander after his coronation, affords a memorable example; when the road from the capital to his seat in the country, for the distance of 100 versts, was lighted with lamps for the convenience of 10,000 guests that were invited to the feast.

The head of this family is reputed to hold the largest possessions in Russia; his property consists of (in their mode of calculation) at least 125,000 slaves*. Of this

* This is the usual mode of computing wealth in Russia. The value of a male slave (for these alone enter into the calculation) may be at an average about 150 roubles; but the price differs in various provinces, and in some the value has been lately enhanced, by the drain of the war, to upwards of 500 roubles.

number, near 6000 are employed in his domestic establishment in different parts. It is not the custom to retain more than thirty or forty servants at a residence in Petersburg; but in the country, where they are generally far removed from towns, &c. an household of 500 or 600, or more, is not uncommon; these serve the several occupations of surgeons, butchers, bakers, tailors, shoe-makers, &c. &c. and sometimes a company of comedians is added; a band of musicians, *cornes de chasse*, and perhaps half an hundred footmen and valets. For these separate duties they are selected without discrimination; their destinations are made out, and they are accomplished for them by the means of the cudgel. Their power of imitation, however, like the skill of mimicry which savages always possess, seems to render them equal to the undertaking, whatever it may be: and the veriest boor taken from the country seldom fails in performing the task which is allotted to him, at least in a certain way.

The sulky obstinacy with which the brutified creature withholds from his superior whatever is in his power to secrete, prevents the possibility of individual adaptation of innate talent: it is almost the only case wherein he is able to gratify his mind by an exhibition of his natural rights, and his determined spirit of concealment is carried to a length inconceivable to those who have never experienced their obduracy.

A stranger perpetually meets with a similar sentiment of opposition in the most ordinary occurrences. If they can

impose upon him, they exercise their craft as another mode of satisfying a temporary feeling of superiority. The temptation of money itself is often unable to move their stubbornness, when they know he has no right of compulsion. But let them be once possessed with the idea that he has, and no farther trouble ensues. In England, pay a man, he will do whatsoever you require: in Germany it is necessary to add, that he must; and in Russia to give a blow.

Such is the moral state of man under this system of degradation: these miserables are as much depressed below the ordinary conditions of humanity, as their lords are elevated above their natural rank; and each (for all here is in extremes) are furnished and cultivated in a scale according to their respective ranks: the noble is ever a man of external polish, the slave a beast unredeemable.

It may seem hard to lavish abuse on this class for faults incidental to the life which they are constrained to bear, but it is impossible to have seen them, and to give another picture consistent with truth. They are characterised in general by a sentiment of acquiescence rather than of content, by an untameable passive courage, and a species of cunning that is truly surprising; in other respects they are usually cheerful and good-humoured in their conduct to one another, and have at least a feeling of superstition for their God.

The arbitrary dominion of their masters, their power of taxing the industry of the peasants, is productive of as much debauchery and fatal extravagance in the higher

orders by the temptations it holds out, as of wretchedness and poverty in the lower, by the calamities it creates.

In another point of view, this iniquitous system does not fail to operate in a mode highly prejudicial to the accumulation of national wealth. The pressure of the hand of extortion acts very differently from that stimulus of ambitious industry which urges a constant and well-regulated exertion: its very nature is forbidding, its want of order destructive, and in the rough mind of a Russian peasant it displays itself in any thing rather than a beneficial feeling. Who indeed would work uncompelled while aware that the increase of his possessions can only afford fresh temptation to the rapacity of his master? Let him be forced, and all is well. Suppose the owner of an estate has lost money at the gambling-table, his wants must be supplied, and the *obrock* of his peasants is raised. Upon this the wretched rustic will weep and stamp, and tear his head, but it avails nothing, he has not a soul to whom he can pour forth his complaints, and he gives a vent to his farther violence in the passion and ardour with which he pursues his work. He thumps the oxen at the plough with increased vehemence, or, in a fit of temporary rage, throws on his own shoulders a double load of sacks: in a few minutes he becomes tranquil at his labour, his passion works itself off, and he resumes his song with an appearance of resignation which shews obligation and compulsion to be so familiar to him, that the burdens they imposed cease to be a

source of grief. After some days of this extraordinary labour, he gratifies himself by a commensurate season of indolence; and indulges himself to satiety with drink and sleep.

Some assert that, as is said of spaniels, when well treated and well beaten, this breed of men are capable of affection for their masters: but their conduct depends on points of more vital consequence than any feelings which give rise to personal attachment, and they display marks of a well-grounded anxiety when any change is threatened in the property of the land they inhabit.

Mons. —— finding himself in embarrassed circumstances, proposed to sell a part of his estates in order to extricate himself from the unpleasantness of his situation. His peasants had long experienced in him a kind lord, and the first moment that his intention was made known, entered into a subscription among themselves for the sum of 250,000 roubles, which they tendered him in a body, soliciting only in return, as an indemnification for the advance of this sum, that their *obrock* or rent should not be increased for the next ten years.

Another similar instance of the sentiments produced by good treatment happened about this time: the town and estate of Sloff on the Dnieper was offered for sale at the price of 12,000,000 R. The vassals, who were informed that a certain person of bad character and much involved in debt was about to negotiate for it, immediately held a meeting, and, with the assistance of the resident Jews, made up the

purchase money, after which they passed an unanimous resolution to offer it to the amiable Countess B——. The terms required, if she chose to accept their offer and buy the estate, were simply an annual interest of 5 per cent. upon the principal, with promise of repayment in the course of ten years.

On the other hand, it is not difficult to multiply stories of an opposite nature: in one account cruelty and vanity are mixed up together, and the female sex, than whom none more amiable in the whole world are to be found than in Russia, are selected as objects of abuse. Thus a gentleman paying a morning visit, finds a certain lady extremely ill; we are told how she lay in this state on a couch of velvet, arrayed with rich ruffles of Mechlin lace, with silver ewers placed before her; but this luxury availed her nothing, she complained most grievously, and had, it appeared, burst a blood vessel, in consequence of the violence she had herself exerted in beating one of her male slaves. A second person will speak of the cruel Madame Soltigoff, who was confined at Moscow for murdering her servant, or of another lady who imprisoned her hair-dresser for six years before her death, that no one might discover the secret of her false wig. These, however, are stories of old times, and if true, only serve to shew what have been the consequences of such evil conditions of society as are here maintained. Slaves are beaten and pillaged beyond a doubt, but instances of wanton cruelty are not heard of; and if one or two persons are pointed out as having the reputation of ill-

treating their people, this fact is, in itself, a proof at least that the vice is rare.

This class of society may be divided into four sorts, the peasants of the crown, those of the economy (belonging to the estates of the clergy, being administered by the crown); those that are given out of the emperor's levies to the proprietors of mines for their use; and lastly, those who are the property of individuals. The two first are in the best condition; a large proportion of them are employed in the post and other public labours, and, in general, their state admits of much more ease and comfort than that of the others: the third also are under certain terms by which the severity of their burden is relaxed; but the fourth division, or great body of peasantry, suffer a heavy bondage.

The general statutes relative to all the four classes are the same: they have no existence in the eye of the law, and since their property (even their wives) belongs to their lords, their insignificance so far protects them, that no one can sue a slave for a debt that amounts to more than five roubles; though the case is altered if the peasant is furnished with his master's passport, or permission to trade. They cannot marry or leave their village without his consent. They are imprisoned and suffer corporal punishment by his order: and it is only lately that a law has been promulgated for the purpose of bringing the master to justice in case the slave should die within twenty four hours after receiving chastisement. Certain provincial establishments, called marshal's courts, have also been made, where slaves

may appeal against their lords: their inefficiency under present circumstances may be well imagined, but their existence is at least a proof of the beneficent intentions entertained by the crown towards this class of subjects.

The village peasants pay soccage service, and receive (much as in Germany) certain allotments of ground from the starosta, or elder of the village, on behalf of the seigneur. For permission to cultivate this, they pay a fixed *obrock* or rent, which amounts in general to ten or twelve roubles per ann.: on the crown lands it is not higher than eight, and what is of more consequence, the slaves have full confidence in their superior, and know that it will not be raised beyond this sum, even if they should hereafter thrive in wealth.

The seigneur, on his part, is obliged by law, as well as by a regard for his own interest, to support the peasant during illness or under misfortunes, and this same consideration is their chief protection against his avarice and rapacity: though perhaps some of the stories above cited might lead one to suppose that these people had something which they might call their own, it is only by sufferance of the seigneur, and the fear lest he should be left in the same condition as the man in the fable who killed the hen that laid the golden egg.

The burden of the charges for maintenance, as also that of mending of the roads, of furnishing clothes and accoutrements of the recruits for the army, &c. are all paid from the village chest, as well as all demands to which the

seigneur is liable by law: a mode of provision, perhaps, more equitable in practice than if the payments were directly made by the seigneur himself; as it would only form a pretence for raising the *obrock*, and be liable to much mismanagement and peculation on the part of his agents. The fund is now made up by subscription from each individual, and amounts in ordinary to about three and a half roubles annually *per* head: besides these sums, little is required of them; they have only to pay a small capitation tax to the crown, according to a census that is revised once in ten years. Their condition, therefore, under a kind landlord is capable of much enjoyment and ease.

Their chief food is coarse bread and broth or *schtschi*, but in several of the more fruitful provinces they fare extremely well, eating meat three or four times a week. An increase of family is an increase of wealth, as adding to the means of cultivation; and under this hope it not unfrequently happens, that where the priest is base enough to connive at the practice, the father espouses his son, while yet an infant, to a girl of mature age, and himself performs the matrimonial duties. This is but one more example to add to the numerous instances of immoral conduct that accompany these degrading conditions of humanity.

Hitherto the life of the rustic peasant alone has been alluded to, but other chances and ways of life are open to this class. If a slave wishes to try his fortune in a new line, he solicits a passport or leave to emigrate from the estate, and betaking himself to some town, tries his

luck in any way that offers itself, as a servant, an artificer, a pedlar; or sometimes, if possessed of a little stock, he sets up a retail shop, raising himself by degrees to higher and more lucrative concerns of traffic, and finishing his career as a merchant at the capital. Under these circumstances the *obrock* is increased: settling in a town the gains of the slave are supposed to be larger than in the country, and his expenses on this head, including both the tribute and the additional stamps, &c. amount to perhaps more than thirty roubles per annum: this again is augmented in proportion to the growth of his wealth; and there are instances of those who pay an annual sum of a thousand roubles, or even more. One of the chief commissaries of the army is now a slave of Count Orlow; and there is a slave of Prince Sheremetov who possesses a manufacturing establishment near Petersburg, where he finds employment for upwards of 4000 brother vassals; though of course the concern is carried on under the name and protection of his master. The architect of the Kasan church was a slave of Count Strogonov, working on a passport; and many of the boys now studying at the Academy of Arts are of this description, placed there either by their masters, or at the expense of their friends. A certain proportion in that establishment are supported by the crown; in default however of such nomination, the expense is but trifling, amounting to only about 500 roubles per annum.

The grounds on which persons in these situations still continue their state of vassalage have been above men-

tioned. Emancipation indeed does not often take place except in the cases regularly provided by law, and they are not numerous. All the clerks, &c. employed in public offices become *ipso facto* free: all soldiers and seamen (though these are not discharged till after twenty-five years of service) have the same privilege. Their wives are free, as also the children born after the commencement of their service: these latter are taken care of and educated in the regimental schools, generally qualifying themselves for the situation of *bas-officiers*, which they seldom fail to obtain. Notwithstanding such apparent advantages, the peasants shew great unwillingness to enter the military or naval service, and frequently desert to the forests in order to escape the vigilance of the officers appointed to conduct the levy.

The generosity of the present emperor, who has been brought up by his preceptor in the principles of Swiss independence, would gladly set free the class of peasantry in general; and even forget in the zeal of his wishes that tedious accompaniment of necessary conditions which alone can make any great innovation really beneficial to his country. A plan was suggested no long time since for the manumission of a certain number of villagers, granting them each a portion of land, on condition of their being bound to pay the fee-simple within the space of ten years: but their moral state is such as not to admit of the application of the principle laid down in this project. It was wisely alleged in objection, that the habitual in-

dolence of the Russian peasant militated strongly against the adoption of such a scheme: he has not been accustomed to exert himself uncompelled, and no doubt the greater part of the body placed in these circumstances would revert to their former state of indigence and slavery, from inability to fulfil their compact.

Two ukases have been promulgated in the reign of the present emperor, to limit the costs and charges for the necessary agreement between the master and the slave, and its conditions are ordered to be communicated to his majesty: but encouragement alone is insufficient to promote the great work of emancipation, and it is thought that some farther steps are in contemplation by the government. Whatever measure shall be proposed, it will necessarily meet with much opposition from the nobility, who are, for the most part, attached to the *good old* course of things, and wish to see affairs in no other than their present state. So difficult is it to eradicate existing prejudices, and so hard to persuade any class of men that private interest and the public good are in reality ever inseparably the same.

Much has been done with a view to remove the general ignorance of the peasantry, that forms a second obstacle to any great improvement of their state. Gymnasia *, schools,

* So far back as the year 1806 the minister of public instruction stated in his report the number of establishments for education throughout the empire at 1022, viz. six universities: 43 gymnasia in the chief towns of departments: 442 secondary schools in the district towns: 296 parish schools: 235 private academies.

and academies, were erected in most of the towns for their instruction by Catherine II., nor have they been unsuccessful in their way. If, however, it might be allowable to hazard an opinion on a subject so delicate, it would, perhaps, be wise that the fetters should be loosened (in some part at least) while their ignorance knows not what freedom is: no intoxication of the moment will occur, no visionary enthusiasm will be able to insinuate its poison into those minds that are not capable yet of being opened even to delusion. The use of liberty will come with time, and it will come mellowed by that gradual experience which moves hand in hand with the progress of the more substantial schemes of amelioration.

The Russian historians inform us that the system of feodal vassalage was introduced by the Tartars when they conquered this country; but that the strict laws which restrained the emigration of the peasantry, and gave their bodies to their master, were enacted in consequence of the turbulent spirit of the times that prevailed, when so many impostors, under the name of Demetrius, successively laid claim to the crown, that they might be prevented from joining as before the standard of every fresh adventurer. However this may be, there have been different accounts given in different countries of the origin of similar rights; but they seem (for all the conquering hordes were from the east,) to have been not altogether unconnected with the usages of the Asiatic nations in general, among whom the property of all lands was vested in the person of the sovereign. It is

somewhat worthy of remark, that the feodal system is not any where found in so full vigour at the present day as in Russia, Poland, Bohemia, and Mecklenburg, countries which were chiefly peopled by the slaves or *wenden*.

Under a prudent system of management, sooner or later it may be imagined possible to effect the great object of emancipation here: but there is another evil no less injurious to the public weal, no less offensive to morality, and no less destructive of the powers of industry, that it will be found far more difficult, if not impossible, to remedy. There exists a system of bribery and corruption throughout every public department in this country that exceeds all belief. It is a mischief, no doubt, inseparable in its nature from the principle of a despotic government, and has been felt here from ages the most remote. Even in the time of the great reformer, Peter I., we read of Prince Menzikov's second conviction before the senate for peculation, and we are told he was sentenced to pay a heavy fine to the state, and that the emperor promised to take the corporal punishment into his own hands; when his excellency, the governor of Ingria, accordingly underwent the discipline of the cane.

It would not, perhaps, be wholly irrelevant to mention the injudicious conduct of the government in paying their officers so ill. The salaries in many of the civil departments have been augmented, but in the military and naval services the same nominal sum is received as the allowance which was fixed by an ukase of Peter I., although the prices of articles are risen to more than twenty times the

value they bore in his day. A captain in the sea service now receives no more than 400 R. per annum, a sum equal to about 20*l.* sterling. How is it to be expected he should maintain himself? Of this, however, I know nothing; but into those departments by which the administration of the country is carried on, the profligacy of the late reigns has introduced an open and avowed system of venality, to which no other European country can find a parallel. It is to Catherine II. this evil must chiefly be ascribed. She was in the habit of granting public situations to the friends of her upstart favourites as places where they might amass a fortune, to gild over the lowness of their origin by wealth and profusion; while every act, even the most infamous, was authorised and accredited, so as it afforded a prospect of pecuniary recompence. The same practices have been indulged, and even increased, with the spirit of the times.

The police, from its inquisitorial nature, has infinite sources of gain; they sell the liberty of the press, defraud the stranger, plunder robbers of their stolen goods, and receive fees alike of the accuser and the accused. Provincial officers favour the wealthy merchant with the permission to introduce contraband goods; and again, out of the number of slaves sent by the seigneur for the imperial levies, they select the empty-handed peasant for military service: in the former case, the agents of the custom-house step in also for their due share of pillage; in the latter, the surgeons and procureurs follow *pari passu* the example of their superiors. It would be endless to attempt a catalogue

of these enormities, all of which, nevertheless, custom has sanctioned with, as it were, a prescriptive right. The sums paid are regarded only as regular fees or perquisites of office: the functionaries themselves have been bred up with the knowledge of no other system, and are surprised to hear a foreigner say that acts which are done openly every day can savor of illegality or injustice; in fact they do but follow the principle and common basis of every branch of the Russian government.

It will be sufficient for illustration of these circumstances to relate an anecdote or two connected with the administration of justice, as being the most material of the several public departments.

An American merchant sought redress by law for some unfair dealings on the part of a Russian trader; the lawyer whom he retained came to him on the second day after his application—"I have," said he, "opened the prosecution, "and will fairly relate the present state of your case: the "judge says your cause seems fair and equitable, and you "offer 5,000 R. to the court; he would, he admits, wish to "incline to your side, but, on the other hand, the defendant "offers 10,000. What can he do?" The American laid down immediately 10,000 R. it was taken to the *Tribunal of Justice*, and he triumphed over his opponent.

Another gentleman instituted a suit for the recovery of a debt, but offering no bribe, the case was of course held to be perfectly clear, and he was nonsuited; the defendant, in the plenitude of victory, then commenced a

process against him for defamation, and damages were found to the amount of 300,000 R. with a farther punishment of a sentence to clean the sewers, because, forsooth, it was a Russian magistrate whose fair name had been thus brought into question by the object of the action. Upon this the gentleman appealed to a superior court, but with ill success; they confirmed the verdict, and still farther added to its iniquity by sentencing him to undergo flagellation. The matter now grew serious, and he made application through an high quarter to one of the presidents of the senate; the cause was heard again, but the result was of another nature: the sentences of the former tribunals were instantly reversed, the debt recovered, and the officers that had sat in judgment on him came in a body submissively to beg his forgiveness, and entreat him to pursue the enquiry into their conduct no farther.

These acts of injustice were not, however, committed merely because the appellants were foreigners; for the ordinary conduct of the courts towards the native Russians is of a stamp precisely similar. A few years since a relation of Prince —— came from Moscow to claim his patrimonial inheritance, that was withheld from him by his guardian. Arrived at Petersburg, he met by accident with one of the highest officers of the law on a visit at the house of a relation, and after some conversation on indifferent matters, ventured to open his case to him; he received for answer, that his suit might probably occupy 8 or 10 years consideration, but, added he, follow my advice, sacrifice a part

of your property to save the rest, and you shall be put in possession in the course of as many days. He then wrote down a list of fees to be paid to the several members of the court (himself included) and gave it to the young nobleman, who, on his part, obeying this friendly monitor, came on the following day as plaintiff to the senate with his petition, and presented each of these functionaries with the sum specified, wrapped up in the body of his papers. The event exceeded his expectation; in four days time an award was given in his favour.

A similar looseness of principle is displayed in many other public acts, that seems by long habit almost to have become essential to the nature of the Russian government. The police, the guardians of the press, and censors of the literary world, extend their dominion over another department, and limit the notification of political events to such a degree, that their mode partakes of the nature of a falsification, rather than of a concealment of facts, while they draw long inferences by misconstruction, which prevent the appearance of many an useful work, in its nature perfectly harmless. They suppress, on the most ungrounded suspicions, the manifestos of foreign courts, and in their own domestic state papers cause a new gloss to be given to the statistical reports as well as to the dispatches received from the army; in the latter, the returns of killed and wounded are never suffered to be made known; and the general detail is of a description, that seldom meets with much credit with the people.

A story is current relative to a bulletin of Suwarrow in his Turkish campaign, who preferred making his own misrepresentation to such a garbled statement as the police would have prepared. After the affair of Persan, he ordered his secretary to draw up an official account for the gazette; the faithful Cossack (for such he was) proceeded to narrate the whole engagement most circumstantially; here the Russian positions, there the Turkish; here the advance, there the retreat, and so on; in fine, of the Turks were killed 300, of the Russians 2000. Suwarrow regarded him for an instant. "It is well done," said he, "a plain story "enough, but I must confess you do not seem to have "reflected much on the nature of your subject: the Rus- "sians, remember, are our friends, we must spare them; "write down 250 killed: but the Turks are infidels, and "we must utterly exterminate them; write 22,000:" the unjust servant did as he was commanded, and the dispatch appeared in due official shape.

But we may quit this subject for others of a more pleasing nature. A philosopher might be drawn, naturally enough, to enter into long disquisitions on the comparative state of the arts and sciences in Russia; but without engaging very deeply on the subject, the most trivial observer cannot fail to observe the different progress made by the one and the other. Newly extricated from barbarism, the infant mind is seized with the desire of pursuing whatever strikes the fancy, or serves to interest and amuse, while the labours of more rigid science and learning are entirely thrown aside.

We find at Petersburg few men of abstruse acquirements, yet musicians, poets, and painters in abundance; and the nation has arrived in these arts, it must be confessed, at an highly reputable pitch of perfection. The works of art, though not fraught with the spirit of originality of the southern professors, yet display, in almost every branch, the most correct and refined taste; and even the natives shine, while the prejudices of their countrymen have denied them a fair share of patronage.

The academy of arts is fostered by the superintendance of the crown, and from the revenues allotted to it is well furnished with models from the antique, as well as other matters suited to its institution. The labours of the students exhibit some of the highest specimens of imitative excellence: their designs in architecture are of great merit, and their pictures possess a free style of execution, combined with chasteness and harmony of colour, seldom equalled in any modern school. Ygorow and Zuboiof rank among the first; their productions are in the style of *pastici*, but the combinations are excellent, and their mechanical dexterity in the art is admirable. The sketches of Orlovski again possess infinite spirit; Korlossky and Martos also, as sculptors, display qualities of a still higher description.

In the province of poetry they have not so much to boast, if it is fair to judge through the medium of translation.

Their music is for the greater part here, as elsewhere, modernised on the Italian taste. The simple national airs,

many of which are preserved among the peasants, and indeed in a few pieces of the composers of the present day, are of a singular style, without any regular cadence, breaking into transitions the most abrupt and irregular,—"'Tis "sad by fits, by starts 'tis wild." At first their modulations strike the ear rather with surprise than pleasure; yet some examples have a grandeur and simplicity about them, that, it must be confessed, is wholly their own.

Men of letters and science are not much valued for their acquirements among the higher classes, or even considered as of a condition to intermix at all with their ranks. But being chiefly foreigners, they are, by a liberality peculiar to the nation, always entitled to a certain degree of esteem.

From hence it may be imagined, that the mode of education for boys, according to English or German ideas, is very defective. The tutorage of a French Abbé at home, (though the person employed is not always of this description) and a short residence at one of the universities, is the only chance given to the son of a man of consequence for pursuing the belles lettres, or for acquiring any other knowledge than such as may be picked up in society. A school that was lately established at Petersburg by the Jesuits received considerable encouragement. This sect never was banished from the empire of Russia, and we might have prophesied that they would now make a good return for their reception into the country. It appears, however, that by officiously interfering in religious matters, and

diverting the minds of their pupils from the principles of the Greek church, they have incurred the imperial displeasure, and since the period of my residence have been publicly expelled from Petersburg and Moscow.

The system of education adopted with those brought up in particular lines, civil, military, or commercial, is of course under good regulations, but it is that destined for the unprofessional ranks of society, or what is called the liberal formation of a gentleman, which meets with so slender provision. The purposes, indeed, for which knowledge could be acquired are so limited in extent, as to hold out but few inducements for any one to make himself a proficient in such subjects as would fit him for public employment. The civil service of the crown is confined to a certain number; and an active mind, unformed, is constrained to seek either a frivolous occupation or a mischievous one. This accusation, it will be urged, may admit of more general application than to the case of Russia alone, and be referred to the greater part of the continent. It is only in Great Britain that we see a due measure of employment allotted to all, the greater part too in its nature gratuitous and honourable. The course of parliamentary duties, the attendance on special committees, &c. and, in another line, the very active parts of the magistracy assigned to men of affluence in a country life, oblige the English gentleman to look to acquirements of real and practical knowledge, as the most obvious source of distinction, and to study the

forbidding points of abstruse and dry subjects from the incitements of fashion and honour.

The nature of our education in public schools may be added as another peculiarity which contributes towards the early formation of our national character; and it is one among the usages and customs of Great Britain that strikes all foreigners with a more than ordinary degree of admiration: neither academies nor universities, though places of resort at an early age, can be looked upon in the same light with these institutions; and it may be well supposed that there is a wide difference between the spirit generated in a school of little men, or in an university of great boys.

The girls are brought up with a degree of attention proportionate to the neglect with which the other sex is treated. The *Couvent des Demoiselles nobles*, and the Institute of Catherine, both flourishing under the patronage and perpetual inspection of the Dowager Empress, are the chief seminaries at Petersburg. In spite of the repugnance and timidity of the female character, a public examination is held every three years at each of these establishments, when such of the young ladies as have completed their education exhibit their various accomplishments before a very numerous assembly. All the grand officers of the court and the corps diplomatique are invited to attend, and every mark of notoriety is given to this display. In order also to excite competition, those who have made the greatest progress receive the decoration of the empress's cypher in

diamonds, which is carried on the left shoulder, a badge of honour they are proud to wear during the rest of their lives.

This ceremony had taken place about a month previous to our arrival at Petersburg; but on presenting ourselves at the convent, with the permission of the Dowager Empress, we were gratified with a private display of the several classes of these schools.

The convent contains two separate establishments, one for the education of 260 girls, daughters of the bourgeois, and the other for the girls of noble birth. The period of education is about nine years, during which time they receive instruction in the French, German, and Russian languages, in the Russian history, in natural philosophy, in music, singing, dancing, embroidery, writing, arithmetic, and geometry: two young ladies, indeed, (much to our surprise) during the course of the last mentioned lecture, gave us the admeasurement of a polygon, with very good mathematical phraseology; but natural philosophy appeared, by universal confession, to be the favourite study. I hope it will excite no envy in the breasts of such of the fair sex as patronise the Royal Institution in London, if I relate that one evening dropping into the house of a lady of very high rank, in Petersburg, we found her party employed in a discussion on the polarity of rays of light, and the late discovery of the magnetic property of the violet. This circumstance was, however, purely accidental. The system of education they here go through places the sex

above the wish of making any ostentatious display of their attainments; and with regard to every other qualification that may adorn the character of women, there is no stranger who visits Petersburg without bearing witness to the elegant manners and the unaffected graces of the Russian ladies.

Some persons, no doubt, will question the policy of these establishments, and it is true that out of the large number placed in the convent, many will be necessarily brought up in a style with which their future condition of life may not well assort; part may be destined to pass their lives in the country, others will form connexions in marriage below their apparent rank; but at the same time, in the present stage of civilization of Russia, certain advantages may result, even from the exuberance and superfluity of learning among the sex.

The last room we visited afforded one of the most interesting sights I ever beheld; the whole society were ranged in the hall at the hour of dinner; they were dressed in their plain and simple habits of white, brown, and blue, the distinguishing mark of their several classes, the whole amounting to more than four hundred in number; and when on a signal given the hymn of praise swelled along these fair ranks of youth and health and innocence, the sound burst on our ears as a touch of something more than human, and filled our imaginations as the voice of an heavenly choir.

It is but a few years ago that the beautiful and accomplished daughter of Poniatowski, the late king of Poland, was living at this seminary, where she had passed the

greater part of her life. It happened that one day a young Polish nobleman, possessed it seems with the courteous aspect and high breeding that usually characterise the unknown knight of a romance, made his appearance to claim her as his spouse, alleging that they had been betrothed together in their infancy. He was admitted to her presence, saw and loved; the dowager empress approved his suit, and he led her directly from her school to the hymeneal altar.

There are many other institutions of this sort at Petersburg, of which the deaf and dumb asylum (regulated on the plan of l'Abbé Sicard); the orphans and widows asylum, the school where boys and girls are educated for the theatre, are the most conspicuous after the two above mentioned.

The public hospital is under an admirable system of arrangement, both with regard to the cleanliness and comfort of the inmates. The bedsteads are all made of iron, the apartments are well kept and ventilated, each being superintended by widows from the military asylum, who are required by their rules to perform a certain routine of charitable duty at this place. The revenues arise from the surplus profit of the Lombard bank, and amount to 105,000 or 120,000 roubles per annum; by which means provision is made for upwards of 200 people in the house, and assistance given to about 15,000 out-patients. It is worth stating, as a point of comparison between the two countries, that at St. Bartholomew's hospital in London, about 6000 persons are relieved annually, of whom 440 are generally within

the walls: but this is not effected at a less expense than 27,000*l.* per annum. The want of such aid is nowhere more strongly felt than at Petersburg; the doors were beset by an host of applicants during our visit here. It was observed to us, and indeed the remark was confirmed in other similar establishments, that the most ordinary cases were those arising from scrofula, in consequence of the impoverishment of the system by the severity of the climate, and the want of sufficient nutritious support in the aliment of the lower and poorer classes. I must here add that a special board, called the College of Provision, is erected in every province throughout the empire for the superintendance of these charitable foundations: they have received considerable funds from the crown to be applied to these purposes, and their endowments have been in many cases largely increased by private benefactions: there is, perhaps, no country in Europe where the liberality of individuals is so much exerted, unless in Great Britain.

The Foundling Hospital, though inferior in magnitude to that of Moscow, has been much celebrated, and our curiosity naturally led us to its inspection. The number of children on their lists is about 6,000, of whom 600 are kept within the house; their expense upon the whole amounts to 400,000 R. per annum. Upon being sent hither they are immediately vaccinated, and then placed out with different families to nurse till the period of their education commences. They are next selected according to their natural talent for the several employments, liberal or

mechanical, to which they seem most inclined, and are brought up accordingly under excellent preceptors. Some are sent to the manufactories, others to the military schools, others kept at home and instructed in the arts or the belles lettres.

We were interested extremely by the appearance of two Spanish children among the number, who were, as far as could be ascertained from their account, the offspring of a chaplain from Madrid, accompanying the division of Spanish forces employed in the French service during the late invasion of Russia. He, however, died at Moscow, and their mother, who had been delivered of an infant during their stay, fearing to hazard the vengeance of the inhabitants in their return to the city, endeavoured with her little family to accompany the retreating French army. Her strength seems to have been very unequal to the attempt; and when they last saw her she was lying on the road-side unable to proceed, her body doubtless perfectly exhausted, and her mind, as might be gathered from their description, in a complete state of delirium. The daughter, though only eleven years of age, took charge of her brother as well as her infant sister, whom she carried on her back for many leagues. This little party followed the troops during all the severity of the weather without any other provision than the few scraps of horse-flesh or offal which the half-starved soldiers could spare from their meals. After many escapes, they at length reached Krasnoi: but during the action which there took place they were frightened at

the appearance of a squadron of Cossacks, and fled to conceal themselves in the forest; here they staid for two days without any food, and were at last accidentally found by a Russian soldier, crawling as well as their little remaining strength would permit them along the snow. Their feet were entirely bare, and being seized by the frost, had become useless: their language was not understood; and had they even been skilled in the Russian tongue, their voices, feeble and inarticulate, could have availed them nothing: their appearance, however, was sufficient to proclaim their situation, and to ensure them commiseration in this country. The Grand Duke Constantine happened to fall in with them after their discovery by the soldier, and ordered them to be well taken care of, finally giving them a place in this asylum. They were of an intelligent countenance, and were said to possess some talent; and we must hope the singular story of the first part of their lives will be followed by a more happy career in the land that has adopted them.

The greater part of these institutions owe their flourishing condition to the fostering patronage of the empress dowager, to whom we had the honour of being presented in the course of the month, and who, with the Grand Duchess Anne, and the Duke and Duchess of Wirtemburg, formed the only part of the imperial court now resident at Petersburg. Her majesty paid us many compliments on the politics of our country, in favour of which all the world seemed now so much inclined: if at any other moment she has acted on different principles, it was probably through

circumstances connected with the conjugal reverence with which she follows the memory of the Emperor Paul, and no one can do otherwise than respect at least her feelings on this head.

The personal character of the reigning emperor is chiefly distinguished by great affability and condescension, which is carried to such a degree, as would be wholly incompatible with his situation, if the government were of any other form than that of an absolute monarchy. Considering the disadvantages of his early life, he must be regarded as one who has, as far as possible, overcome, by natural goodness of temper, those evil habits which circumstances seemed to form for him; and whatever blame some may attach to his caprice, his artfulness, his inflexibility, his vanity, or his gallantry, he nevertheless has great merit; and, indeed, his very foibles may be said to be well suited to the part he is destined to sustain, and to the nation whom he governs. Of the empress it is sufficient to say, she is adored by all classes.

After the ceremonial of our presentation had taken place, the chief houses of Petersburg were open to us, and we were in many of them most kindly received: at some public days for dinner were announced; at others, general invitations given, and evening *conversazioni* or balls were the amusements of every evening.

I may add, that neither here nor in Sweden do the ladies, like those in the most southerly parts of Europe, mix indiscriminately with men at the coffee-houses, wherefore

private societies are more in vogue, and always sure to be well attended. With regard to the distribution of the houses, the chief apartments are upon the second story, and, as is generally the practice throughout the continent, the ground floor, the cellars, with perhaps the garret, are tenanted by the lower class of people; the court-yard also, for they are mostly arranged in this fashion, is disposed of to various inhabitants; a mode of lodging the poor, which I have before remarked adds greatly to the beauty of the foreign cities, since no mean dwellings are to be seen.

The public entertainments at Petersburg were not splendid; the French theatre had been destroyed by fire, and the only places of resort were the Hall of Music, where some admirable concerts were given, and two small theatres for the representation of the German and Russian drama. Their tragedies, having for their subject the earlier events of the history of the czars and grand dukes of Moscow, were particularly interesting. But of all the spectacles lately produced, a piece of another description, entitled *Le Cossak à Londres*, had met with the greatest general applause. This personage, one of so ordinary an estimation at Petersburg, was introduced on the stage as newly arrived in the English capital, where he was courted and admired, caressed and beloved, by crowds that thronged to gaze upon him: he was exhibited on the Exchange, feasted in private houses, and visited by those of the highest rank. His appearance, indeed, was represented as having given a new turn to popular fancy and fashion; and in the conclusion,

Ackerman's repository in the Strand was introduced, with various prints of new Russian costumes, and the English ladies were seen jigging in the street a new dance *à la Cossaque.*

Hitherto little has been said of the existing form of government in Russia; nor, indeed, is it of that nature which requires much elaborate explanation: it is a pure oriental despotism, which, in these days, labours hard to suppress the growing sentiment of European liberty. The sovereigns, persons such as the accident of nature may have fashioned for the time being, voluptuous, impotent, ambitious, mad; various specimens have been presented in the last century. The nobles, ever a spirited body, many of them men highly polished and refined; the people, invariably a race of ignorant and illiterate slaves. The *tout ensemble* exhibits indeed an anomaly in the political world, on which the extravagances of Paul, with the catastrophe that succeeded, the present security and even employment of some of the authors of his death, will furnish the best comment and illustration.

The emperor, or as he is styled, autocrat of all the Russias, possesses a supreme unlimited power over the whole empire, and his word is law.

The grand chancellor is the first officer of state; the other ministers are those of the foreign affairs, finance, war, marine, interior, public instruction, divine worship, police.

There is a supreme council of state composed of 35.

members, including the above, who are invested with powers of superintendance and control over all the public offices.

The only public body besides this is the senate, which is the organ of the decrees or ukases of the emperor, and the highest tribunal of justice in the empire. The seats are filled by the nomination of the emperor, and are sometimes made honourable places of retirement for superannuated military officers, or at others again conferred as employments of credit on favourite courtiers. Another senate is also established at Moscow. An appearance of authority is attached to these bodies as promulgating and regulating the ordinances of the law; but it must be remembered that they have not the slightest resemblance to a legislative assembly, and speak neither the voice of the nation nor even of the nobles, but of the emperor himself alone. So far, indeed, is the principle of autocracy carried, that a vast deal of business, apparently of a trivial nature, is transacted by him in person, and many of those acts where the name of the sovereign in other countries is used merely as a form, here are immediately and personally directed by the emperor. A governor is appointed to each province with the necessary administration, and a large corps of military police or *gensdarmerie*, which constitutes every where one of the chief organs of administration.

As to the bias of the public mind with regard to foreign relations, it does not seem that the general current of opinion turns to the side of English politics. The naval glory

and commercial preponderance we have acquired make our career a constant object of envy, and never fail to afford topics for those who are inclined at heart, perhaps from meaner motives, to decry the part we have taken. Our subsidising system does much in aggravation of this feeling, and instead of exciting good-will, draws upon us the malice and hatred of all the contracting parties. The treaties made with Frederick II. of Prussia, with some instances of more modern date, are frequently quoted against us; we are accused of encouraging animosity between nations, with the same sanguinary feeling with which we match two boxers to fight, sometimes paying money to both sides in succession; with our purse we feed, say they, hostility in the abstract, and strain the sinews of war beyond the limit which nature has imposed to the exertions of each individual power.

Many circumstances, moreover, attendant upon this course, tend to depress the warmth that might otherwise be felt for the party which a country is obliged to espouse; the national energies are restrained by the easy manner in which their supplies are procured; we see not that extrication of enthusiastic and ardent feeling which arises from struggling amidst difficulties; far from this, they consider themselves acting only as secondaries, and their exertions are cheerless and dull because for *value received.* If we reason on nations as on men, and expect a large return of gratitude, it is fair to admit the operation of the same principles which men act upon, and we shall be told

that no one feels thankful to him who pays him for his services.

To descend to minor points, our cause is injured by our unassuming appearance, by our frankness and plain dealing; to claim nothing, is to want just grounds for pretension; to make restoration, is to shew signs of fear. Besides which, we have for years past been engaged in the unwelcome task of rousing the neighbouring nations to a sense of their own duty, and pointing out to their notice the just view of the degradations they laboured under: our steadiness, no doubt, is allowed to merit praise, but our honest advice is felt as a reproof, and savours of the nauseousness of a medicine.

If, as Buonaparte said in his speech to the legislative body, the European war lies only between France and England, if the political opinions of these countries are those on which others place their faith, we may discover numerous circumstances besides these, which materially prejudice the great cause. We must look to such things as are likely to influence the ideas and the inclinations of individuals, which, however trifling they may appear, ought never to be omitted in a just calculation of our means of acquiring popularity. It is by no means a small class, especially on the continent, who, neglecting more important considerations, ground their notions on the opportunities they may have had of making observations on the character of private persons, and thus pass judgment on the whole nation. Englishmen, less mixed in foreign intercourse, are

not gifted with those talents of conversation in society, that power of self recommendation of which other nations, particularly the French, make so brilliant a display. We are looked upon as a distinct race of beings, as inhabitants of a secluded island, that have formed to ourselves peculiar habits and manners, which, though universally respected, are never, in spite of the best exertions of our most fashionable tourists, made the subject of admiration or applause. These are personalities that, if they do not form the foundation of political sentiment, yet have a powerful effect in giving a tone and colour to feelings of an higher interest.

French politics, on the other hand, have every external advantage to lend them a gloss and brilliancy, and beside what has been stated above, many powerful engines are set at work in another way. Their language is common, and their literature universally cultivated; the great work of education of children is chiefly in the hands of Frenchmen, who instil to their minds whatever principles they please. French manners and fashions give the ton, and their poison, which is not always rejected by men, is incense to the female heart. Women (they think no farther than the present day) are captivated with every thing that breathes the air of Paris; and when we state the sex numerically, as one half of a nation, we may add, that their influence involves no small portion of the other. We find universally, that whenever French politics are said to be prevalent, the focus of the party is *chez Madame* —— whoever she may be.

The views of England are never treated impartially.

Many even now ventured to assert that the feelings of the nations on the continent were ripened into an animosity against France, which, in the natural course of things, sooner or later, would have produced the same association that had now been set on foot, when the same results must necessarily have fallen out; and this (as they would wish) without having recourse to Great Britain for the means of commencing hostilities. Europe was sufficiently exasperated, it is true, but at the same time we must add, on our parts, that if the time of action had been postponed, nay, had it been delayed even for two or three years, France would have amassed so preponderating a power as to have enabled her to rivet her fetters, perhaps for ever.

The struggle is now passed, but the embers of faction still remain unextinguished; in spite of former examples, French and English interests will rise again in opposition, and we may then view the consequences of our thankless efforts. We shall see, that while restlessness, temerity, profligacy, have admirers; while gaiety, falsehood, and flattery, have friends; the French will ever secure a certain hold for themselves, and however great their success may be in the field, will gain an higher ascendancy in the world by their arts than by their arms.

Europe is as a parent with two sons, the one frank, open, honest, industrious, performs his duty and thrives; the other, gay, thoughtless, petulant, extravagant, always wanting money, always in need, affording a daily source of parental uneasiness. But what is the natural consequence?

The steady boy is praised and disregarded, while the whole tide of maternal fondness is turned towards the offending child.

These feelings, nevertheless, were now suppressed at least for a season. The glory attending upon our triumphant success weighed with some, while others saw an absolute necessity of espousing our cause in the aspect of the times; a third party were brought over by private interest, and the hope of finding a sale for the produce of their estates that accumulated on their hands; and a fourth, perhaps, were our friends, from a thorough conviction of the manly rectitude and integrity of the British government, though these are points that ordinarily gain only a few proselytes.

It was highly amusing to hear the various descriptions that were daily given in conversation respecting that nation; many of them were ludicrous enough, but significant at least of our peculiarities as they strike a foreigner, and symptomatic of the light in which they are constantly viewed. One spoke of it as a country from whence the people had right of emigration when they pleased; where there was no military police; where soldiers were raised by bounty-money. Another would express surprise at the dainty appetites of the common people, who all eat white wheaten bread, or perhaps sneer at us for our piety, because all the shops were shut and theatres closed on the Sabbath-day. It was asserted, indeed, by a person who had visited London, that he had once been prevented by a waiter at a coffee-house from playing an harmless game at chess,

because, forsooth, it was Sunday evening; the story caused great astonishment, and was hardly credited. This ended, a set of enquiries were next set on foot, reflecting on our cold unfeeling dispositions. Was not conjugal infidelity valued at certain prices by our law? Were not horrible stories of murder sufficient to shock the public mind related in the daily gazettes? Might not a man sell his wife with an halter about her neck in the market? Was it not lawful for the body of a man deceased to be seized by his creditors for his debts? and so on. Or, perhaps, if the gentleman's speculations were of a political turn, he would launch a few dark hints on the subject of our disinterested political conduct, as it was called, proclaiming that all we did was with the same aim, and that we were as oppressive tyrants on the sea as the French on shore, and possibly he might wind up his philippic with an insinuation that the subsidies of this year (for they are regarded as a matter of course) seemed to him to be mean and shabby.

But to turn from these expressions of popular ill will to matters in which the same feeling displayed itself amidst the higher powers, it is impossible not to notice the fact, that in spite of the services we had accomplished for Russia in the hour of trial, though the most friendly contract of alliance had lately been concluded at Abo, and notwithstanding the right we had to claim all she could grant, yet no treaty of commerce existed between the two nations. The regulations against the importation of English articles remained in full force now as during the war; with this re-

laxation only, that the admission of raw colonial produce was allowed, and vessels were suffered to enter the ports without demanding, in the same fashion as before, their certificate of origin. The continuance of this system was, it may be imagined, highly detrimental to the Russian finances, injuring both the export and import trade, without affording the prospect of any real advantage in return. Our manufactured goods are articles of prime necessity in such a country; and, as it turned out, silks, cloths, cottons, and an hundred other things, were introduced by stealth, either addressed fictitiously to the *Hofcontoir*, as if for the use of the imperial court, or sometimes more directly evading the prohibitions by bribery. They were to be found at a certain price in the shops, where it was the practice to stamp them with the Russian mark, and they then passed nominally as home made. I might, in addition to numberless other examples, mention the case of a sugar refinery at Abo, that had sent more sugar to Petersburg during the last month, than the smallness of their establishment could have enabled them to prepare in the course of a whole year. But the entire system of the Russian laws relative to trade displays one uniform course of ridiculous chicanery, proving, by the regulations put in force, how little the nature of the subject is really understood. They adhere, it seems, to the strictest letter of the law with a speciousness of fidelity that only cheats itself. A singular instance occurred during our stay at Petersburg. A vessel laden with oysters arriving at Riga from England,

threw the officers at the custom-house into the greatest distress; these things could not be excluded, for they were not manufactured articles, neither were they admissible as colonial produce: many, therefore, were the difficulties that arose on this knotty point, and various communications passed to and fro between the department of the interior and the custom-house. How it was finally settled I know not; but long before the final adjustment of the question, the disputed cargo became putrid, and was thrown away. The police officer, who, some years ago, when it was forbidden to appear in the streets without carrying a lantern, arrested a gentleman because his servant carried it for him, did not commit an error of more punctilious absurdity.

If the end proposed by these regulations is the encouragement of the Russian manufactories, how inconceivably strange is so perverse and mistaken an application of the first principles of political economy! A nation must have arrived at a certain point in her progress towards general prosperity, before she can be declared in a state to support concerns of this sort. Articles of vital necessity should abound, before she can afford to turn her hands to those of a more superfluous nature. It is not in the power of the greatest autocrat in the world to control the nature of trade, or to force it prematurely to an healthy increase: to attempt, indeed, so preposterous a measure here, is to add one more source of mischief to those evils which the precocious condition of Russia has already so visibly produced.

From the observation, that there are but few manufac-

turing establishments except such as are paid by the government, we should naturally enough be led to infer, that the real temptations to adventure in this line are few, nor can the fact be denied. It is not, perhaps, in our power to draw an argument from the comparison of the alleged prices of the work of the artisan and the rustic, for our decision is liable to much fallacy, in a place where slaves are generally employed, and their labour not estimated at its natural rate. But when we are told that a landed estate returns 10 per cent. and if well managed more than 20, or even 30, of annual income, no one can have any doubt in pronouncing the condition of the nation as most unfavourable to the encouragement of manufactures; and we shall find, on examination, various circumstances that serve to corroborate the idea. As for articles which the bounty of nature has bestowed more plentifully upon the country, it may be expected that they should not be included in this class: leather, cordage, linen cloth of various sorts, linseed oil, &c. are manufactured and exported in large quantities. It is those for the produce of which no such facilities are offered that are here alluded to.

The imperial manufactory of cotton, on the Neva, is carried on under the greatest advantages the government can bestow, and by their means 600 boys and girls are furnished from the foundling hospital for its service. The stockings, which form one branch of their trade, are necessarily offered for sale at the low price of those imported from England; otherwise they could not enter into com-

petition, as they are not of so strong a texture, or likely to last so long; but they are confessedly sent to market at a considerable loss to the manufactory. Here is machinery also for carding and spinning cotton, of which about 5000 pouds* are annually made up: yet even this part of the concern barely repays its expenses, at the present price of the raw article; and the importation of it from China overland would only be an addition to its charge. The flax which is spun, being an home produce, under the advantages of the establishment affords, it is true, a very fair profit, and near 20,000 pouds of twist are sent out each year.

The imperial plate glass manufactory is worked by the emperor's slaves, who are paid by the piece, and earn sometimes twenty-five or twenty-eight roubles per month. Their glass is sold at a cheaper rate in the market than the English; but when we take into the account that the English is raised near three times its natural value by the heavy excise laid upon it, our inference as to the nature of such business in Russia will be the same as in the article before mentioned. Its quality, it may be mentioned, by the by, is far from being so transparent as that brought from England, nor does it, upon ringing, return so clear a sound. This deficiency was attributed to a supposed inferiority in the quality of the oxide of lead used in refining, but the unequal strength of their furnace, in which charcoal

* A poud equals 36lb. English, or 40 Russian.

only is burnt, was, perhaps, the real cause. It is worthy of remark, that the glass sometimes came out (by accident) perfectly fine. These instances would easily be farther extended; and we might observe that the inferior quality of the things produced is no matter of light consideration, but in some instances more prejudicial to the public than the bare increase of price.

In the manufactories of cloth the effect of the restrictions upon importation from England has been an inducement to many to turn their machinery to the making the finer sorts of broad cloth, in consequence of which an article of a very inferior quality has been sent forth, while the coarse cloth used by the poorer classes, which they were better competent to make, is grown so scarce as hardly to be met with in the market.

There is also established an imperial porcelain manufactory, that the country may boast of its existence: profit is out of the question, for great part of the materials are imported from Germany; but the government are at the whole expense of maintaining it. Besides these, there are imperial iron founderies, an imperial fayence manufactory, imperial bronze, and many others.

At the head of those which we inspected, there was almost invariably seen a Scotchman or Englishman employed as superintendant. The integrity of these men, as agents, makes them invaluable in Russia; while the regularity and preciseness of arrangement which they introduce still more enhances the value of their moral qualities. Nor

have they been found less serviceable in matters of an higher description than the conduct of commercial business. Several Scotchmen are now high in the military service; and at the head of the medical profession, in its several branches of military, naval, and civil, are placed three gentlemen of the same country. I could indeed instance a department in which the expenses of the office were reduced by no less a sum than 22,000 R. within the first year of the administration of the present governor, nor did any diminution ensue of the advantages to be received from the establishment, but it was placed in a more efficient state, notwithstanding the economical plan which had been executed.

It is not difficult to account, on very reasonable grounds, for a certain predilection that exists in Russia in favour of the qualifications of foreigners; it ought not, nevertheless, to operate so forcibly as it does in many instances, to the utter exclusion of native talent and industry, or to be carried such lengths as to place an effectual bar to the exertions of any individual who may wish to redeem his character from the universal stigma. Of strangers, it is not too much to say, that not the Scotch alone, but the settlers from Great Britain in general, have been found most serviceable: a few Frenchmen were introduced, upon experiment, during the time of the residence of the French embassy at Petersburg; but they have neither been found so steady, nor so intelligent, nor so capable as men of business.

Steam-engines were in use at many of the manufactories, having been for the most part imported from England: though we saw an example (at the arsenal) of a machine which had been constructed on the spot under the direction of a Scotchman; and it seemed (which is an uncommon case with those made abroad) to answer extremely well. We had an opportunity of observing also some other machinery which had been formed under similar directions, and with similar success in its application; but on the subject of which it may be fair to indulge a few reflections.

At the present æra, when the various modes of abridging labour appear to be so much in vogue, and when some new scheme of mechanism supersedes in almost every branch the skill of the artisan, it is worth while to observe the general consequences that will finally result from the prevalence of such a system. In former days, when each successive operation was performed by the hand, an almost insurmountable obstacle was thrown in the way of a country which might aim at supplanting, or even rivalling, the ancient establishments of her neighbour. A length of time was required to form hands for work; a service of apprenticeship was necessarily gone through, not merely by the chief workmen, but by the boys and the women employed in the lowest branches; in short, every one was obliged to acquire by practice a certain degree of manual dexterity, and the whole population in the vicinity of a manufactory was gradually trained up to its use. In this way thirty or forty years usually elapsed before a concern could be said

to have acquired perfection, and to be completely organised in all its functions. A business, when once well established, might be regarded as promising a certain continuance of success; changes in the line of trade could not possibly be effected so suddenly or so injuriously as we may hereafter expect to see. With modern improvements the case is altered. The distaff and the needle are thrown aside; machinery effects the whole. Great is the saving of labour and expense: but what follows? It is not possible for any law effectually to prevent models or drawings in one shape or other from being carried out of the country, and together with these the means, and the power of the establishment, nay, its very name and credit are at the same time conveyed away. While our economical abridgment of labour therefore produces a worse article for the market than before (for this cannot be denied); while it deprives many an honest man of support,—it lays open to our enemies the means of cutting off the sources of our national wealth, and of reaping all the advantages that result from our experience as well as our ingenuity.

This is reasoning on narrow grounds, I am well aware, and much remains to be said on the other side; but such at least is the nature of the immediate practical inconveniences that arise from our new mode; and when treating the subject of an empire, where so much unnecessary jealousy is shewn in commercial matters, some indulgence may be granted to a like feeling on our own parts.

It is not with the same spirit of objection that the in-

troduction of the English machinery at the Mint is mentioned here, but merely as an instance of the esteem in which our countrymen are held for the perfection of their mechanism. The whole of the apparatus employed in coinage was constructed by Messrs. Bolton and Watts, and is precisely similar to that erected in our splendid edifice on Tower-hill, London. The same has also been sent, as I understand, to Copenhagen: indeed its superiority to that of any other invention of this sort is universally acknowledged. The famous Zecca, a *chef d'œuvre* of the French at Milan, is not comparable in point of ingenuity of arrangement, or in practical utility; scarcely producing in a week the same number of pieces which may be here done in a single day.

The labourers are here all peasants of the emperor, receiving soldiers' pay: and it may be permitted to cite one fact relative to their management, which affords a striking proof of the difference of character that exists between the English workmen and the Russian slave. The men employed at our Mint are select in character, and are held capable of trust: the metal delivered out to them is of course duly weighed and accounted for; but on their leaving the place after the day is over, no search is ever made on their persons; so injurious to their moral principle would be held the bare suspicion of dishonesty: this appearance of confidence has not been attended with ill consequences, I believe, in any case. At Petersburg every

artificer is daily stripped to the skin, and so narrowly searched at night, that even the cunning of a Russian cannot find a secure mode of peculation: besides this, the working clothes are annually destroyed by fire, lest the dust of the metal that adheres should give them an "itching "palm." Degradation of the human character is by many people looked upon as a term of philosophy, imaginary perhaps in itself, and not really applicable to life; but the traveller in Russia will frequently see its effects displayed under a form most hideously visible.

The Mint was now employed in coining silver to be exported for the use of the army. To offer a supply indeed for home circulation would have been useless labour, since whatever issues were made, the country was but little benefited; they got into the hands of speculating merchants, and soon disappeared: it is a fact, that out of 500,000 English guineas and ducats which, with other metal, had been restamped and sent out from hence in the course of last year, not a single piece was at this time to be met with.

The circumstance will most probably be accounted for from the depreciation of the paper currency, which has been for some years declining in credit. It is at present so low, that the army, which is paid in silver roubles instead of paper, from the moment they pass the Russian frontier, receives, though nominally the same sum, an intrinsic augmentation of three-fourths of their pay. The present

actual value of a paper rouble, estimated by the quantity of silver * it will purchase in the market, is equal to only about 10½*d.* of English money, instead of 3*s.* 4*d.* the value of the silver which it is meant to represent. Now it is singular that about twenty-five years ago it was not merely at par, but, so excellent was the credit of the bank, that a small agio, of about two copecks, was regularly given for the paper rouble, on account of its lightness and convenience.

Of the fall in its value, the embarrassments of government must be attributed as the original cause: but its deterioration has been of late years rapidly accelerated by the same circumstances that have acted so powerfully on the promissory issues of every neighbouring country. In England we have noted this comparative depreciation, and being aware that the credit of the Bank is unimpeachable, have learnt to attribute it entirely to the unfavourable state of our foreign exchanges. In the United States of America the circulating medium has changed in the same way; the war that cut off the trade had the effect of introducing paper where the precious metals were before abundant, and we ascribe the fact, without hesitation, to the same

* The proportion of alloy was as follows:

$\left.\begin{matrix} 83\frac{1}{3} \text{ silver} \\ 12\frac{1}{3} \text{ copper} \end{matrix}\right\}$ for the rouble. $\left.\begin{matrix} 72 \text{ silver} \\ 24 \text{ copper} \end{matrix}\right\}$ for small coin.

The heavy metal copper was abundant in circulation. It is worth while to observe, that there is a difference of one-fifth in value between the copper coinage of 1795 and that of 1811; yet the first, which was the most valuable, was still in circulation, and I believe very seldom melted down for profit.

source. But in countries where foreign trade is not so considerable in its extent, or of such vital importance to the nation, where unfavourable exchanges have not existed in the same degree, and where, if they had, the drain could not have been of the same exhausting nature, we must refer our argument to another principle, and look for a new operating cause: we shall probably find that the exchanges (as far as they were against them) must be quoted rather as the effect of the loss of their gold and silver than the cause, and certainly this fact contributed most powerfully to render them permanent.

There were moments during the late continental wars when the alarming aspect of affairs, and the overthrow of crowns and principalities occurring on every side, made each individual tremble for the stability of the government to which he was attached: incendiary writings, treacherous negociations, and unjustifiable invasions, seemed the order of the day; no reliance was to be placed on the imaginary vouchers of public credit; and every man sought to hoard up whatever specie he could collect for subsistence in the day of need, or to provide the means of flight from oppression.—The universal demand for gold, in consequence of these fears and uncertainties, was soon felt in the market; the fluctuating price of gold and silver changed with the vague reports of the day; and the Jews taking advantage of this general impression, in a short time organised the supplies on a regular system, while, by the slow but constantly increasing demand, specie was en-

hanced to its present value*. Now, allowing the smallest possible quota as the average amount of what each man thus may withdraw from the circulation, and there were few who had not some specimens in their possession, the aggregate swells to an immeasurable amount. Wherever hostilities appeared, gold was called for: the armies required it for their necessary supplies; the citizens sought it through their fears; and the money-dealer was sure of a high price for his article. If, therefore, during twenty years of unintermitting war in one part of Europe or the other, this constant demand and difficulty of procurance should have grown into a settled system, there is no great reason for astonishment. We had seen an example of this at Berlin during our residence the preceding year, though similar instances might be multiplied without end.

During the summer of 1812 the agents of a Jew's house at Gottenburg collected all the gold coin and bullion which they could procure at every price in any quarter, and exported the whole to Russia. Buonaparte was then marching upon Moscow; alarm was at the highest pitch, and the gold was bought up with such thoughtless eagerness

* Three banks are established under the government.

1. Bank of paper, for the change and issue of notes: it may be remarked that the French forged during their invasion 10,000 R. To prevent confusion in the country, they were all received at this bank and paid.

2. Bank of loan for eight years: houses or slaves are admitted as security; but the latter never at more than 100 R. per head.

3. Bank of loan for 20 years: 5 per cent. interest, and 3 per cent. of the capital lent, are to be repaid annually by the borrower.

and avidity, that upwards of 40,000*l.* sterling is said to have been realised as the profits of the transaction.

Looking to the condition of another country, we find the paper florins at Vienna not only were at par in 1790, but bore an *agio* similar to what has been stated of the rouble at Petersburg. It was not till the approach of the French in 1797, that paper became of less value than gold; but since that time the value of the latter has gradually augmented from day to day. The over-issues made by the Austrian crown have also lowered the value of the paper; but the rate of increase in the price of specie far exceeded the comparative rate of depreciation which might appear to correspond with the declining credit of the government.

In addition to these facts, it is a singular circumstance, that one may observe, during the few last years, Russia, Sweden, Austria, and England, have carried on almost the whole of their circulation by means of paper notes: while in those countries where French intendants and administrators appeared, in France, Italy, Germany, Prussia, and the duchy of Warsaw, abundance of specie was to be found; no one was eager to hoard, because the colossal power of France, under whose protection they stood, and her uninterrupted career of success, seemed to promise permanence and security. But this subject admits of much speculative discussion; and I should consider myself as overstepping the limits of a traveller's jurisdiction were I to pursue the question any farther.

The commercial concerns of Petersburg are of considerable extent, and to give an idea of the amount of their transactions with England in particular, it may be stated that the draught of 100,000*l.* sterling upon London would not make any sensible increase in the rate of exchange. The number of ships entered at the port in the course of the year 1813 was 690, of which 343 * were British. From various reasons, however, chiefly on account of the prohibitions laid on English articles, the course of exchange was very unfavourable

* Goods exported in British ships in the year 1813.

Bar iron, *poods*	360,941	Linseed	18,013
Hemp	1,432,785	Quills	8,996,000
Flax	320,726	Mats	47,614
Tallow	1,207,810	Lathwood, *pieces*	49,390
Bristles	30,916	Deals, *stand.*	404,759
Potash	108,280	Cordage, *poods*	72,071
Isinglass	6120	Sailcloth, *pieces*	12,155
Linen, *arshs.*	324,027	Ravenducks	23,456
Crash	187,182	Flems	10,363
Hareskins	489,165	Diaper, *arshs.*	324,027
Wheat, *chetverik*	36,904		

Candles, wax, glue, hides, lead ore, black lead, caviar, raw silk, cantharides, mercury, rhubarb, aniseed oil, tongues, timber, sole leather, feathers, horses manes, treacle, soap, tobacco, squirrel skins, oats, buckwheat, morocco leather, &c.

The ordinary Russian measures.

Verst = 500 sajene.

Sajene = 7 feet.

Arshine = 2 feet 4 inches.

Chetverik (corn measure) holds one pood of dried rye.

A coul or sack equals 8 chetverik, of wheat, or 10 of rye, though it is not a fixed measure.

Pood = 40lb. Russian = 36lb. English.

to that country. Still, notwithstanding the impossibility of balancing accounts by consignments of goods in return, very little difficulty was experienced in the mode of payment; and though it was impossible to diminish the loss upon the exchange by the transport of bullion, yet so brisk a commerce of bills and acceptances was established through the hands of the Prussian Jews and others, that the market was fully supplied, at least to the amount of the demand.

The present prices* of articles is given below: rye bread must be assumed as the standard of the country, rather than that of any other grain; for the rest, it should be remarked that every article is enhanced beyond its natural price by the situation of the town, because so long and so expensive a transport from the interior is necessary even for the most common matters of life. A generally progressive increase of prices has taken place in Russia, independent of the depreciation before-mentioned: it is difficult under the confusion arising from the present condition of

* *Prices in Paper Money.*

Day labour, 27 R. per month and food; sometimes 2 R. per day is demanded.
Wheaten bread, 1 R. 60 cop. per lb. English.
Rye bread, 2 R. the pood, or 36 lb. English.
Meat, 25 cop. per lb. Russian.
Hire of carriage, 4 horses, and two drivers, 350 R. per month.
170 acres of land (without slaves) 6 versts from Petersburg, was advertised for 3000 R.; but the land was poor.
Dutch Ducat, 13 R.

their circulating medium, to ascertain the exact degree. Mr. A. Young, in a late pamphlet, states it at an average of 40 per cent in the price of rye, during a period of twenty years, ending in 1806; while wheat (our standard) has risen during the same period, in England, about 36 per cent. The progress, indeed, in Russia ought, on obvious grounds, to exceed that in England; and may it be permitted to suggest, that this increase, which has taken place, though in proportions somewhat dissimilar, over the whole European continent, ought rather to be attributed, as it doubtless must here, to the growing activity and general increase of demand throughout the several countries, than to any variation in the supply of the precious metals from the mines.

Looking to the various sources whence Russia draws her materials for trade, it is natural to turn our eyes to those dependencies which make so large a geographical display in the north of Asia. They are valuable only on this score: the furs they afford are of an admirable quality, and the produce of the mines is very large, besides which, the possession of these tracts ensures at all times the means of carrying on a trade overland with China. The profits arising from these different branches necessarily experience a considerable drawback from the expense of long conveyance which is required through the interior.* There

* The silver caravans from Kolivan and Nertchinsk are the most valuable; from Kolivan two are sent annually, one in December, the other in January. They are about two months on the road; the expense of carriage for their united

was a time, during the height of speculation, when the duties on the China trade, at 25 per cent, produced 400,000 roubles of annual revenue, a sum which the whole value of the imports themselves does not now exceed, and future experience will rather tend to diminish than increase it. The caravans to India, by the Caspian sea and through the Persian territories, have been relinquished, partly on the score of carriage, and partly on account of the war. Few of the more bulky articles, indeed, of the China trade can be made objects of importation: a trifling quantity of nankeens, silks, and tea; some precious stones, rhubarb, musk, &c. are brought annually, and some ingots of gold; which last the merchants are obliged to give up to the emperor, receiving silver in its stead. The tea is of a most delicious flavour; it is perfumed by being packed up with the flowers of the *olea fragrans*, and exhales a powerful aromatic odour upon an infusion being made.

The exports from Russia, in return, are light furs, such as those of otters, foxes, or beavers; camlets, English or Silesian cloths, coral, watches, iron, cutlery, &c.

The government have interested themselves constantly to keep up a good understanding with the court of Pekin, though not always with the same success. The last em-

amount (being about 1000 pouds) is 5000 roubles for 5000 versts; but when this estimate was given, the rouble was at least double its present value. The caravan from Nertchinsk is about three months on the road, being a distance of 7000 versts. It brings 250 poud, and sets out in December. The lead is brought from Nertchinsk by water.

bassy was that of Count Golovkin, about seven years ago, which was equipped in the most splendid style. The retinue consisted of an hundred and forty persons, including *savans* and artists of various descriptions; and the presents to the emperor, of which they were the bearers, were of the highest value; they consisted chiefly of velvet cloths, Russian porcelain, and large mirrors, and other costly articles. After a journey scarcely remarkable for any thing but its tedious length, they arrived at Kiachta, the usual point of intercourse between the two nations, and thence passed the frontier to the palace of the Lama, where they represent themselves to have been handsomely entertained.

They partook of various amusements peculiar to the country, and, among others, made a party to hunt in the district of the Barianski; a people, it seems, famous for their skill in the chase: their mode of preparation was by beating the woods and driving the hares into the plain, where the marksmen being placed in certain stations, shot them as they passed at speed; the weapons used for this purpose were bows and arrows, the latter of which were loaded with a very heavy barb, and, it is singular to remark, were never directed with a point blank aim, but at a very considerable elevation.

Every instance of mechanical skill exhibited here does not appear to have been equally commendable. The Russian mirrors, which were of a vast size, seventeen feet in length by nine in breadth, had been packed on cushions at Petersburg, and laid on a carriage adapted for the purpose,

and arrived hitherto uninjured. But on passing to the Chinese side, a mountainous road was to be traversed, and the only provision made for the draught of these carriages was by a range of a dozen horsemen placed in a line, who pressed the cross bar at the end of the pole of the carriage with their bodies, and in this manner performed the office of draught. The insecurity of the scheme on a descent soon manifested itself; there was no mode of resisting the accelerated rapidity of the carriage, owing to which, one of the mirrors, during the return to Kiachta, was overturned and dashed to pieces.

After some days of repose the parties entered into conference; but an unforeseen accident soon arose to prevent an happy conclusion to the negociations. It was required in the course of the preliminary ceremonials, that the Russian envoy should prostrate himself nine times before a yellow skreen, which, by the whimsical construction of an eastern allegory, was supposed to shroud the blaze of majesty that encircles the august emperor Kia-king. So extraordinary an act of homage, however, was not to be endured on the part of the plenipotentiary representative of all the Russias; and, unfortunately, advices being received from Pekin that the entrance of a Russian ship to the forbidden port of Canton had excited the utmost displeasure of the government, the conference was instantly broken up; the Wan, the Mongol governor of this part of Tartary, retraced his steps homeward, while Golovkin slunk back to Petersburg to report the total failure of his mission.

The embassy sent to the Lama of Thibet, with a view of soliciting the establishment of a sub-Lama at Kiachta, proved equally fruitless. Had it succeeded in its object, very considerable benefit would have been derived to the Russian colony. Many persons of this religion would have been induced to pass over to their settlements, and the number of the population, as well as activity of trade, would have been greatly enhanced. The commercial intercourse of these provinces of the frontier is of an extremely lucrative nature; so much indeed has wealth accumulated, that some people, competently informed on the subject, do not hesitate to assert, that the line of the river Amour, the former boundary, was conceded by the Russians merely from motives of fear, on account of the formidable increase in wealth and strength of the mercantile body resident in that quarter.

With regard to the provinces of Siberia in general, they are held in dependence at a very small expense to the crown. Jermak, a rebel Cossack, with the aid of a merchant, Strogonov, in order to regain the favour of the Czar Ivan Vassilievitch, first undertook an expedition into these parts with a small body of men, and succeeded in conquering the most valuable and most powerful districts of the country on the banks of the Irtish. This was early in the sixteenth century; the scheme was afterwards followed up, and the whole of Siberia taken possession of; but though so many ages have intervened, it is singular that in the peninsula of

Kamschatchka there existed a few tribes of marauders who enjoyed their liberty till within these last few years.

The country in other parts, however, has been long quiet and undisturbed; the inhabitants are, for the most part, a lazy people, their character inoffensive and harmless in proportion to their scarcity of population and infrequency of intercourse.

A few pulks of Cossacks, scattered in the towns, are the only species of armed force which it is thought necessary to introduce; in addition to which a sort of militia is formed from among the natives; those who are willing to undertake this service being relieved from the burden of taxation, and indulged in the enjoyment of some other privileges of no great account.

The Russian governors of provinces are not long continued in office, unless sent hither in consequence of disgrace at court: the dislike to the service is so great, that a reward is held out even to those who accept the inferior stations of administration; and to be employed for the space of three years in Siberia gives a title to the rank and privileges of assessor in a college or *bureau*, without exhibiting the certificate of a degree from one of the universities, which is otherwise made a requisite qualification.

The landed property is chiefly vested in the hands of the crown, and is managed through the medium of bailiffs or superintendants, a system which would naturally be commuted in the course of time for a sort of copyhold

tenure, if the condition of the country were in any way capable of improvement. But the checks to population, incidental to such a climate, have a very prejudicial effect upon their prosperity, and preclude for ever the possibility of realising any promise of amelioration. Other evils, that go hand in hand with this state of things, contribute also to render the wild tracts still more forlorn: it was about ten years back that the ravages of the small-pox reduced one tribe of the Kamtshadals from three or four hundred to a number scarce exceeding twenty or thirty; and similar instances of misfortune have occurred, though perhaps not to so great an extent, in many districts. There was an hospital for inoculation established at Irkutsh, the capital of this government, in 1772, but the immense extent of the country makes all precautionary measures, to a certain degree, ineffectual.

It may be observed, that at a census * taken a few years since, only three persons were averaged to each square of seven versts throughout this province, so scanty are the germs of population: the few roving tribes, however, be-

* A census of the population of the Russian empire is taken every ten years. The total amount is about 42,299,000 souls, who are scattered over a surface of 341,000 square miles: of this, the proportion residing in the dominions situate in Europe (including Finland) is about 33,000,000, and the square miles of surface are nearly 82,000.

The bills of mortality throughout the empire (that is, including only persons of the Greek church) give the following results:

	Born.	Died.	Marriages.
1811.	1,306,147	936,368	278,600
1812.	1,264,391	971,358	239,073.

fore mentioned, were of course omitted in this calculation, as being at that time not under control of the police. The most cultivated parts are in the province of Tobolsk; the capital bearing also this name, and the city of Beresov, being both places of banishment, are spoken highly of in point of society and amusement.

The Academy of Sciences at Petersburg displays an interesting collection of the several costumes of the nations inhabiting Siberia; of the Samoieds, Ostiaks, Kouriaks, the Troglodyte Kamtshadals, &c. with some specimens of the dress of the prophetic pagan priestesses, called Chamans. These women are objects of worship and veneration with a numerous sect of votaries in the north: the sacerdotal instruments are of a nature to inspire terror and awe into the beholders; a cap and horn of iron, a mantle strung with rings, and a large deep-toned drum; whereby, when the priestess falls into her trance of ecstasy, the most horrible combination of inharmonious noises is produced, and her audience proportionably convulsed and alarmed. There were

From the increase of population in ordinary years, it is inferred that the number would be doubled in 70 years; from the year 1801 to 1806 the excess was laid at 2,665,874.

At St. Petersburg in 1813, all communions included:

Born.	Died.
3,828 boys	10,870 males
3,730 girls	4,114 females.
7,558	14,984

This was a year of unusual mortality. The most dangerous maladies were nervous fevers, colic, and consumption.

also some of the dresses of the semi-brutal inhabitants of the Aleoutine islands; creatures ignorant of the existence of any supreme power whatsoever; they worship neither stone, nor wood, nor man, and seem scarcely elevated, in the scale of humanity, to a par with an ordinary savage.

Some Japanese habits and armour made of varnished leather and blue cloth were shewn us too: they were trophies from the establishments of that kingdom in the Kourile islands.

A very good collection of minerals is also preserved at the Academy of Sciences. The fossil skeletons of the mammoths, found on the banks of the Obi, have been frequently described: the height of the largest is about twelve feet, but it differs in no other respect from the Asiatic elephant, except that the tusks diverge from each other instead of projecting in a parallel direction. It is presumed from the hair found on part of its body, that the animal was thus provided by nature against the inclemency of a cold climate, and was not, as at first supposed, brought by the stream of the river from the more central regions of Asia. Professor Fischer, at Moscow, afterwards shewed us a jaw-bone of an animal that could not have been inferior in size to the above, but evidently belonging to another species. It was named, for want of a more distinctive title, the Elasmotherium, but had as yet afforded little matter of speculation.

The mass of native iron, forty-six pood (or 1656lbs.) in weight, that was discovered by Pallas in Siberia, is also

kept here. Speaking of this collection, it may not be amiss to touch upon the mineralogy of the country we had traversed since our departure from Sweden, though the season in which our journey was made admitted scarce any opportunity of observation. It appeared, however, that the rocks of the Alands group, as well as those of Finland in the direction of our route, were a continuation of the same red-coloured granitic formation, which prevailed so generally in Sweden: it abounded in most places with hornblende; though at Abo the feldspar seemed predominant: at Sveaborg it became almost a feldspar rock; at Helsingfors we observed mica slate occurring in veins, and at Wiburg the surface was more diversified, bearing at a little distance the exact resemblance of a *breccia*, in consequence of the numerous large nodules of feldspar that were imbedded. The varieties, otherwise, seemed but few: the hills were constant in their recurrence, and of an uniform character, till, on the borders of Ingria, they suddenly disappeared, and were succeeded by an immense plain, boundless to the eye. This change in the face of the country is equally abrupt on either side to the east or to the west, forming a regular *escarpment* as a sort of natural frontier to the Finnish provinces. Along its line several beds of the secondary formation occur, lime-stone, sand-stone, &c.; the free-stone, indeed, used in building the Casan church and other edifices at Petersburg, is brought from Kexholm, a place lying in this situation. The continuation of this line of secondary rocks, skirting similar primary formations,

may be traced for a considerable distance to the north-east, and it appears again on the other hand in the southern provinces of Sweden and the neighbouring islands, whence a second time crossing the sea, it may be traced in the same direction through the southern highlands of Scotland.

The edifice alluded to above, of which as yet notice has been taken only by name, deserves notoriety on more grounds than one. The cathedral or church of the Holy Virgin of Casan is one of the most splendid structures that modern art has realised. Fifteen years have been consumed in its erection, and the money laid out amounted to no less a sum than 15,000,000 roubles.

Numerous plans were presented to the Academy when the intention of the emperor was first announced: some of these, in particular that of Cameron, a Scotchman, were more correct in taste than the model which we now see put in execution. But it was no unwise sentiment of patriotism that gave the preference to Woronitchki. This architect was a Russian slave, the property of Count Strogonov, brought up under the patronage of his master in the Imperial Academy, where his talent procured him universal admiration. Being appointed to this new employment, he not only did honour to his country by his own exertions, but accomplished his great undertaking entirely through the hands of native workmen. So laudable an essay merited the success he met with; and it is singular enough, he just lived to see it opened to the public at the beginning of the present year.

The plan is laid in the form of a cross, terminating in each arm with a Corinthian portico: a lofty cupola rises from the centre, and the front is received into a grand semi-circular colonnade four columns in depth: the area of the crescent was intended to have been ornamented with the statues of St. Peter and Paul, raised on gigantic blocks of solid granite ten or twelve feet high: one of them, however, was unfortunately sunk in crossing the Neva, and the other still rests on the rollers by which it was conveyed, in one of the by streets near the place of exercise.

In point of architecture, the composition of the building is not quite harmonious throughout; and the dome is so contracted in its dimensions, as to give, in some points of view, an air of insignificance to the whole. It deserves, however, notwithstanding these defects, considerable praise for the chastity of the decoration, as well as for the noble effect of the approach: in each line as the eye is directed, it is met by a forest of lofty columns, which form, at every step, combinations of the most classical variety.

On entering the interior the spectator is struck by a blaze of pomp and magnificence that would ill assort with any structure, other than the temple of religion. The columns of the aisles are of purple granite highly polished; their capitals of brass and gold; rich paintings line the walls, and a dim, mysterious gloom pervades the whole fabric. As we advanced up the nave, we perceived the rites of the church were under celebration; the solemn chant of the priest was heard—Gospodi Pomilloui!—Gospodi Pomilloui! On a

sudden the doors of the sanctuary were thrown open, and the bearded bishop appeared, clad in raiment of purple and gold: the clouds of incense floated in the air, and the manly sonorous voices of the priests again echoed through the dome.

It was a striking and impressive sight; but, far beyond all this shew of parade, one's feelings were moved by the earnestness and enthusiasm that reigned over the face of the people: at one time the whole crowd were prostrated on the floor; at another they were seen scattered in different parts of the church, some paying their devotions to the picture of the Virgin, others carrying the lighted taper to fix it before the shrine of their patron saint, others kissing the hands, face, and feet of the holy paintings, others bowing their heads to the pavement, with an aspect of humility that seemed to shun the light of heaven. All alike equally careless of one another, wholly wrapt up in their several acts of piety and adoration.

Among them an old peasant, who had just entered, particularly drew my attention: he appeared to be about seventy years of age, strong built, erect in his gait, and something above the middle stature; his neck was bare, his head bald, and his beard as white as snow; a simple caftan of sheepskin, girt about his loins, was his attire. He regarded the holy picture of the Virgin with a stedfast gaze for some time, standing at a distance: then, his eyes still fixed, he laid down his staff and bundle, and began to cross himself with much devoutness; while every now and then

he bent forward on his knees and touched the ground with his forehead: this exercise he continued so long, that he at last was ready to faint from weariness. His slow and aged hand seemed always to move with a singular air of dignity, and the open majesty of his countenance, combined with the apparent simplicity of his mind, constituted altogether a picture that Da Vinci himself might have attempted to imitate on the canvass, but never could have equalled in sublimity of conception.

Whence comes it, we may ask, that such different emotions are experienced by a person who enters a Roman Catholic place of worship, from the visitor of the Greek church? In both, the lighted tapers, the pictures, the gaudy shrine, the incense, are the same; in short, every thing that can be supposed to address itself to the imagination is present in the one as in the other; yet it so happens that the former, deficient in sentimental greatness, always savours of a dramatic exhibition, while the latter bears the semblance of a real scene.

It was on this ground indeed, that the ceremonial worship of the Greek church was purposely selected for the use of the Russian nation. The deputies of the Grand Duke Vladomir were sent in the tenth century to examine and enquire into the different Christian churches, in order to recommend that form for adoption which should appear to them most worthy of imitation. Their report stated that they proceeded for this purpose to Germany and to Bulgaria, where they witnessed the celebration of the Roman

Catholic service in all its splendor: after this they visited Constantinople for the purpose of inspecting the rites of the Greeks: they attended the high mass and heard the chant, and their choice was at once decided; "we know "not," said they, "how to express by words the sublimity "of what we have seen and heard; this far surpasses all "the rest; we thought ourselves transported to heaven "itself."

Their account was perfectly satisfactory to the court, and it only remained to convert the nation to the same way of thinking. From pagans they were simply to be made christians, and this was a matter of no difficulty to a despot: the people instantly received orders to adopt the new religion; all idolaters were declared enemies of Jesus Christ and of the grand duke; while on a stated morning, the inhabitants of the capital were commanded to assemble on the river side, and, without farther preparation, submit to baptism. Not a murmur occurred: "If it were not "good for us," they cried, "our prince and the boiars would "not have decreed it so." It was in vain that the angry god Peroun was said to have started in the dead of the night from the waves of the Volkoff, and to have thrown his club against the bridge at Novogorod, accompanied with heavy denunciations of vengeance against the apostates. He, the mighty Jupiter of the slaves, so lately the object of their prayers, was now almost every where neglected. The grand duke had spoken, and his voice must be obeyed.

The effect of the Russian religion upon the mass of the

people, though it impresses them with a solemn awe of the Supreme Being, and in other respects is not without its use with regard to doctrines of obedience and of self-denial, has yet very little influence on their moral conduct. It may be questioned, perhaps with propriety, whether it is in its nature well calculated for this end: the quibble on the procession of the Holy Ghost; the crossing from the right breast instead of the left; the use of pictures, with no other part but the drapery in relief, because image worship is forbidden, are so many evidences, that the chief character of the church consists in observance of punctilio. But even were this not the case, the ignorance and degradation of the lower classes in this country is such as almost to extinguish every generous feeling that could serve to assist the operation of their religious faith.

Another reason may be found by some, perhaps, in the vicious lives of their instructors. The priests are, it is true, a race that hold a condition in society of a rank not much above the lowest; that associate with the vulgar herd alone; that give indulgence to their own passions, conniving at the evil practices of others, and few of whom deserve a higher character than public estimation has generally allotted to them. The profession descends levitically from father to son, and they are consequently often brought up in a state of hereditary ignorance and vice. I have heard a story related of a priest in the government of Smolensko, who, being unable to read, performed his functions constantly by rote and repetition. The seigneur of the village

having good ground for suspecting his deficiency, requested him one day to introduce a certain new prayer into the service from one of the different liturgies admitted in the church. The priest learnt it by heart, and so far obeyed: he then was requested to change it for the substitutional one that followed; the ignorant wretch affected to acquiesce, but, in fact, went on as before, repeating ever again the same. Instances of actual incapacity for the sacerdotal office are, nevertheless, not very common, except in the more remote provinces: and it is in the rank of the seculars alone, we must observe, that ignorance is to be found. The monks are well educated, and many of the higher dignitaries of the church (for these are all selected from the monasteries) are men of high literary character and attainments.

In order to prevent immoral practices among the seculars, they are not only allowed to marry, but enjoined to enter the matrimonial state on taking a parochial cure, and even obliged to quit their benefice if they become widowers. As to the provision made for them, tithes are abolished, and the clergy depend on the produce of certain domains belonging to the body at large; the administration of which was taken into the hands of the crown during the short reign of Peter III. stated annual stipends being distributed. Their official fees, however, are not inconsiderable, and besides the sums gained in this way, they are paid largely by the noblemen, at whose houses they attend to celebrate private mass: their time is, in great measure,

taken up by this duty, for the wealthier orders hardly ever make their appearance in the public churches, while every one has a private chapel at home.

Having touched on the religious sentiments of these classes of society, it may not be amiss to say something of the morality of the higher, which seems to me to have been the subject with various writers of much misrepresentation. There are many families at Petersburg, as will be allowed by all, where the girls are brought up with the utmost regularity and attention; I hope it will not savour too strongly of national prejudice if I should say in the English mode. But to speak more at large, we should draw an inference favourable to their *morale* from the nature of the distinctions and parties of society; and when we see a line drawn that separates conjugal infidelity from the general resort of those who know how to value the real luxury of a domestic state, we acknowledge a feeling unknown to the lascivious climate of the south, and which proves, beyond all possibility of contradiction, that the basis of social life and virtue is here maintained. I have confined my remarks to the female sex, as the same may not, with equal propriety, be said of the men: but the character of the female world once established in any country, debauchery, it may be observed, meets with an almost impassable limit.

A certain degree of superstition is to be seen even among the people of education. It was impossible not to feel a degree of pity, though at the same time it was a pleasing sight, to behold the amiable and lovely princesses

making pilgrimage to the monasteries of Sarai or Mermest; labours that were the offspring of some holy vow undertaken for the sake of those who were now absent in the war, a father, a husband, a brother, or a lover. Nor are these signs the only traces of over-pious weakness; it is common to meet with persons who never dare to inhabit a house where a person, however distantly related, may have expired. Numerous changes of habitation, for this reason, perpetually take place at Petersburg, the family mansion losing its hereditary proprietor. Others have singular notions about the ominous presage that attends the giving salt at table; and on more serious occasions, a sick man receiving the cup from the priest is not allowed to eat or drink, or even to take physic, for six hours after the ceremony; many persons obstinately refuse to pollute the sacrament by receiving any food into their stomachs after its administration, and the consequences that ensue may be surmised.

Every sect of religion is tolerated by the government, or rather admitted with indifference. Of the rasholnicks (schismatics) from the established church there are some few communities; the greater part those who apostatised on the introduction of the modern edition of the Bible put forth by the patriarch Nicon, in the seventeenth century. They are remarkable for a more scrupulous observance of the ceremonies enjoined in the old forms, particularly of days of fast and rules of abstinence; among the last of which, the forbearance from tobacco, in conformity

with the ancient injunctions of the clergy, is rigidly enforced. They do not form any where a very numerous class, and have only met with success among the poor, by their priests affording confession at a cheaper rate than those of the established church, and practices of a like description.

Disputes on doctrinal points are not likely to arise very frequently: the only translation of the Bible that is permitted is one written in the old Sclavonic language, with an admixture of Greek; and though the Russe is also a Sclavonic tongue, yet this antiquated dialect is as unintelligible to a modern Russian as the Latin language to an Italian of the present day. We may collect that the public curiosity is awake, however, to speculation, from the late successful publication of one of Ancillon's philosophical works. It was translated into Russian with comments by Theophanes, bishop of Casan, and was bought up with avidity; but the book received an answer, and its principles were ably controverted by Philarete, bishop of Novogorod, upon which a violent rejoinder ensued from the other side. An imperial ukase at length put an end to this paper war, by entirely prohibiting the sale of Theophanes's book, while the bishop himself, after a sharp reprimand from the synod, was confined to his diocese.

It is in this way, notwithstanding the avowed principle of toleration, the unlimited authority of the crown sometimes is known to interfere in religious matters; nor is it a measure of lenity or moderation that is resorted to. The proceeding is, for the most part, in the same au-

thoritative tone as that which enjoined their first conversion to Christianity. We have an instance of misplaced severity in the punishment of Prince Galitzin, an apostate to the Roman Catholic religion during the reign of the Empress Anne. This unfortunate nobleman was forced to marry a woman of low extraction, and his espousals were celebrated with every circumstance of burlesque pomp that ingenuity could invent. The bride and bridegroom were carried in a cage of iron on the back of an elephant, followed by a procession of rustics two by two, habited in the costumes of the various nations of Siberia. On their arrival at the place of destination, they were conducted to a sumptuous edifice of ice, adorned with columns, and porticoes, and domes. A salute of ordnance was fired from pieces made of the same substance, while every article of furniture, even to the nuptial couch on which they were constrained to pass the night, was framed of this cold material.

In another case that occurred within the present reign, an act of coercion of no less imperious a nature was adopted, but it was an example that really demanded the most immediate and peremptory measures. A sect of enthusiasts sprung up in the government of Moscow, who, in a spirit of misinterpretation almost incredible, "made themselves," as they said, "eunuchs for the kingdom of Heaven's sake." So strong was the first burst of enthusiasm, that they gained a large body of proselytes, some of whom were now to be seen at Petersburg; but the affair soon became public, and

government taking cognizance of the sect, prevented (it was said) the farther dissemination of their doctrine by the irresistible operation of the knout.

Privation is the essential doctrine of the church: "*Que "les Russes ne savent prendre le ciel que par famine,*" is an old saying; and in truth the length of their regular fasts fully justifies the remark: seven weeks of abstinence are enjoined by the Greek church during lent, the same from the first week after the Pentecost to All Saints day, then again, fourteen days before the Assumption, and forty days before Christmas; during which times animal food and sexual intercourse are rigorously forbidden. The first period is terminated by extraordinary ceremonies relating to the history of the death of our Saviour, much in the same fashion as those exhibited by the Roman church in the course of Passion week; but on Easter even the whole is wound up with, perhaps, the most striking and imposing spectacle ever invented by the votaries of religion.

A representation of the sacred tomb is exposed to the people during the whole of the evening, and at night the resurrection is announced formally in all the churches. We entered the Casan church at a late hour; the nave, the aisles, in short every part was crowded to suffocation with an host of devotees: thousands of lighted tapers (for each bore one in his hand) glittered over the whole area, spreading an illumination as bright as noon. As the hour of twelve approached, all eyes were earnestly bent on the sanctuary; at length it opened, when there issued forth a

long train of banners, crosses, &c.; with archimandrites, protopopes, and priests of all ranks, dressed in their sumptuous robes of embroidered silk, covered with gold and silver, and jewels; they moved slowly through the crowd, and went out from the doors of the church as if to search for the body of our Lord; in a few minutes the insignia were seen again, on their return, floating above the heads of the mob, along the nave; and when the archbishop had regained the altar, he pronounced, with a loud voice, *Christos volseress*, "Christ is risen." At that instant the hymn of praise commenced, and a peal of ordnance from the fortress re-echoed the joyful tidings through the city. The world of Mongiks now saluted and congratulated one another in turn; the days of fasting were at an end; tables spread with provisions in a short time made their appearance in the church: the forbidden meats were tasted with eager appetite, and a feast of gluttony, that annually proves fatal to some of the followers of this religion, took place of penance and prayer.

A second carnival of one week succeeded this day, and afforded, though in a different way, an equally gratifying spectacle. The Isaac Platz was filled with people, drinking quass and kislistchi, visiting puppet-shows or rope-dancers, enjoying themselves in the tcherkeli or round-about, and following each other in succession, down the slope of the summer-hills. This last is one of the most favourite amusements; the apparatus consists of a scaffold between thirty or forty feet high, with an inclined plane in front, constructed in imitation of the ice-hills, the ordinary diversion of the winter season. It is tastefully adorned with

flowers and boughs of trees, amidst which an amateur of the sport is hurried in a small narrow cart with four wheels; descending the steep, and traversing with the impulse a level stage below, of some hundred feet in length, though not quite so securely as in the case before mentioned.

The infinite variety of gay colour and costume exhibited by a Russian mob adds to the pleasure of the scene, and besides the novelty of the aspect in this point, it is the most extraordinary sight to a foreigner to behold these stout majestic men, with solemn beards and placid countenances, sliding down these hills in go-carts, or whirled round one after the other in the light round-about, or (as permission is universally given in this week) jingling the church bells as an act of serious devotion.

But still more singular is the charm produced by the sight of so vast a concourse of people all still and quiet. An universal face of merriment and good humour unceasingly prevails, but it is every where accompanied with the same noiseless appearance. A sight that forms a strong contrast with the loud mirth of an Italian, or the joyous boisterousness of an English mob. But with the forced and artificial Russian, even their quantum of gladness is regulated by the strict order of the police.

The presentation of an egg in sign of the termination of the fast, is the usual compliment of the season among the people of all ranks, high or low; the handsomest are made of porcelain, and it is a gift generally made to the fair sex. The lady in complaisance grants the donor permission to kiss her hand, which, on his rising, is returned according to

the graceful mode of Russian salutation, on the gentleman's cheek. By old established custom, no lady of any rank whatsoever can refuse the salute to the meanest person in the streets that does but make her the offer of an egg.

April 19.—Soon after Easter a new cause of congratulation arose. The affairs of Troyes, Laon, Rheims, Arcis-sur-Aube, la Fere Champenoise, had followed in rapid succession, and on this day the arrival of an estafette from France brought the news of the battle fought under the heights of Montmartre, and of the subsequent capitulation of Paris; together with the information that Buonaparte had abdicated the crown of France.

Nothing could exceed the demonstrations of public joy on this glorious termination of the campaign. The national glory was concerned, and the emperor was the chief of the coalition, so a *Te Deum* was ordered to be celebrated, and illuminations prepared for three nights. On the appointed *fête* again we repaired to the cathedral church of the Virgin of Casan; it was now another scene,—illuminated with fashion and rank, and youth and beauty, and all the costly magnificence of the Russian court. In the centre, below the dome, stood the Empress Dowager, the Grand Duchess Anna Paulowna, Duchess of Wirtemburg, with the queen and princesses of Georgia and Mingrelia, the ladies of the household, and the female nobility of the country. Splendid jewels, rich brocades, shawls of Cashmir, united their dazzling hues, and formed a *coup-d'œil* splendid beyond conception. Behind stood the citizens' wives, attired in

dresses not less costly or profuse of decoration. The corps diplomatique, the representatives of the allied courts of Europe, held the left of the altar; and the officers of the emperor, in their appropriate uniforms of the civil and military lines, occupied the space between.

The ceremony commenced with the official bulletin, which was read by a general officer; after this succeeded a priest with a few verses from the Testament, then the Litany, and then a special thanksgiving; next the *Te Deum*, the prayer for the emperor and each of the imperial family, &c. This done, the grand chamberlain, stepping forward, conducted the empress to the door of the altar, where she prostrated herself three times before the Virgin; the grand duchess followed, and went through the same ceremony with an air of grace inexpressibly striking. The priests were now presented in succession to the empress; the bishop received from her the kiss of peace, and thus the whole was closed.

It added not a little to the effect of these solemn ceremonies, that they were performed under the same roof where reposed the ashes of Kutusow and Moreau, amidst walls decked on every side with the trophies of Russian valour, the eagles and standards wrested from the French legions, the proud memorials of Taratina, of Malojaroslavetz, Krasnoi, Lutzen, and Bautzen,* which were now about to be united to the recent tokens of still more glorious victory.

* Among the most remarkable were the bâton of Davoust taken at Krasnoi, and the vexillum of the 10th cohort of the national guard, taken in the campaign of the last year.

The public illuminations were ordered for three nights, and the inhabitants of Petersburg exhibited every device which their ingenuity and munificence could devise. It was indeed an endless and ever varying blaze: but even the effusions of loyalty are placed under the eye of the police; no transparency or inscription being set up without permission. An unfortunate pastry-cook, neglecting this precaution, had nearly involved himself in a dilemma, by a picture which appeared in his window. He had represented the initial letter of Alexander surrounded with a little wreath of A's entwined, which was intended as an allegorical allusion to the *a-liés* or *alliés*, rallying round his sovereign. The device at least was harmless; a compliment, as the pieman averred, neither ill-meant nor ill executed. The police, however, hold other matters of greater weight than simple argument; it might be, no fees were offered, but certainly, from some reason or other, the unfortunate transparency was ordered to be removed. In respect of more vulgar exhibitions of public feeling, a licence and liberty, such as we had not before witnessed, was allowed on this occasion, and the "greasy crowd," (for they are greasy) raised a confused sound of hurrah in every street through which the imperial carriages passed.

The fortunate issue of this war had hitherto accumulated every species of honour on the head of the emperor; no individual employed in the civil or military services could stand forward to challenge any competition with him in the public estimation. None of his generals, though men

highly distinguished, had enjoyed a distinct command, at least of any consequence. While the minister Romanzow, (whom no one would consider partial to English politics) in spite of the tender of his resignation, had constantly been retained as minister of foreign affairs. The emperor was all in all; abroad the sole ostensible agent, at home the sole depositary of the vows, the prayers, and the hopes of his country.

A profusion of compliments, as may be supposed, were designed to honour his return to the capital. Amongst others, the senate was convened for the purpose of decreeing him some new title appropriate to his deserts. The august body debated for three days, with closed doors, on this important and difficult subject; Italinski, and Crimski, and Donski, and Zadunaiski, honourable additions to the names of great Russian commanders, formed no precedent for the designation of an emperor; and unfortunately, a redoubtable hero of antiquity had pre-occupied in history the only agnomen suitable to his dignity. At last, however, they came to a decision, and a motion having for its object the grant of the name of Blagoslovenni *(benedictus)*, was carried *nem. contradicente*. A solemn deputation was then ordered to convey to him the respectful resolution of the body, and Kourakin, Soltigov, and Tormasov, set out to meet him on his journey.

Besides the titular honour, it was proposed to commemorate his conduct during this war in a more substantial way, and a subscription was entered into for the purpose of

raising a triumphal arch on the road through which his majesty was to approach the city. It was commenced in wood, to be renewed in stone, and an elegant design given by Signor Guarenghi for its construction. But of all these, the most judicious compliment was the offering prepared by the provincial government of Petersburg. They caused to be made two silver salvers, handsomely decorated with emblematical carved work, and on these they intended to present him with bread and salt, the old compliments of a Russian welcome. The building of the triumphal arch was afterwards stopped by imperial command, the title refused, and the last mentioned was the only tribute of public gratitude which he condescended to accept.

The mention of a certain royal family that swelled the train of the empress dowager may perhaps have created the surprise of some of my readers; we ourselves, indeed, felt no small astonishment at their first appearance. Independent of the interest attached to their situation, it was impossible not to notice them from their singularity of air and mien. The princes were handsome men, but the princesses, though not young, displayed features of unparalleled beauty: they were dressed with small round coifs upon their heads, from which a long white veil, open in front, descended to their feet, lending by its novel fashion a new grace to the elegance of their persons. The cause of the flight of the court of Teflis to Petersburg may be shortly detailed. The country of Georgia had been long exposed to the intrigues of its two powerful neighbours, Russia and Persia, and become, partly

through their means, the constant prey of civil war. The ancient royal family was deposed early in the last century, and though with a view to tranquillise all existing differences, a *red and white rose* union was brought about by intermarriage with the usurper's family, yet this step afforded only a short repose; jealousies and factions, gathering strength from temporary intermission, soon broke out with more animosity than before. In the end, finding himself unable to withstand at once the attacks of his domestic as well as foreign enemies, the tsar George Heraclievitch voluntarily surrendered his kingdom to Paul the Emperor of Russia. Handsome appointments at Petersburg were by stipulation to be provided in return, and in the year 1801, his whole family arrived at Moscow. But it was reserved for the Emperor Alexander to fulfil this contract, which was done as soon as the confused state of things at the death of the late emperor would allow, and Georgia is in consequence now placed under the administration of a Russian governor.

The rigour of the season, which we had felt in the preceding winter at Stockholm, had been extended with more than equal severity to this place; the mercury in the thermometer was observed at 33° of Reaumur, or 74° below the freezing point of Fahrenheit, in the month of January last, at least eight or ten degrees lower than in an ordinary year. Upon this many precautionary measures were adopted by the care of the police. The public stoves set up in various parts of the city were kept constantly lighted, and the theatres were ordered to be shut, as is always done when

the cold reaches 20°. On the day of its greatest excess, guards were stationed on the side of the town towards Cronstadt, in order to prevent any of the poor classes from attempting a passage over the ice to that place: so long a journey without shelter would infallibly prove fatal to any person attempting it on foot, particularly those whose clothing was not of the warmest kind; and no one, I should add, in Russia is allowed to hazard a life that, if no intermediate claimant occurs, at any rate belongs to the emperor.

The hospitals abounded with miserable objects, frost-bitten in their extremities, and several people were daily sacrificed. This season, however, to mention the blessings as well as curses of the climate, was reckoned extremely advantageous to the poor; it had not been interrupted by a single day's thaw, so that they kept their provisions for the frozen market during the whole of the winter untainted, and these articles form with a large class their chief dependence for their livelihood.

It is worthy of remark, that the ice of the river was a foot less in thickness than in former seasons, the average being about one yard; so plentiful a coating of snow had fallen upon it early in the winter, as in great measure to afford protection against the increased action of the frost.

The snow might be expected therefore to be accumulated to an enormous extent, but neither was this the case, nor indeed can it very well take place at any time;

for the constant evaporation carried on from every part of its surface diminishes its bulk to an extraordinary degree, and I seldom observed it, unless within a few days after a very heavy fall, to lie at a depth of more than one foot in any open spot.

In the habitations of the wealthier classes the rooms are kept at an unvarying temperature of about 14°+ during the winter by means of stoves; a practice that serves effectually to restore the perspiration if it has been checked by staying out of doors, as well as provides a remedy for any want of tone which the body may have acquired. There is no need to enlarge upon this subject; it is undoubtedly true that the constitution is not so liable to catarrh and complaints of that nature here as in the more temperate climate of England, though prejudice may condemn the means.

In fact, the nice observance of cold, and the means of defending the body from its attacks, are as much a matter of study and science in these parts as that of guarding against excess of heat is become in the south: it is only in the countries situate between these extremes, where the obligation is not so imperative, that danger on such points arises from ignorance and neglect. As to the nature of the variation of the Russian climate, the atmosphere is not certainly very frequently charged with moisture, seldom indeed except at the turn of the seasons; but the change from hot to cold is infinitely more abrupt, and a decrease of 34 of Fahrenheit in the course of a single night is not uncommon.

This season calls to recollection the extravagant humours of the late Emperor Paul, who, even in the depth of winter, forbad his officers the use of any sort of pelisses, and published, moreover, an ukase, enjoining all men, civil or military, to stand still and unbutton and open their coats or cloaks as he passed by, in order to see whether they were dressed in conformity with his whimsical regulations. An English merchant, who had accidentally neglected the observance of this rule, was instantly attacked by the police: he pleaded in excuse, that he laboured under the misfortune of a short sight, and had not, which was really the case, observed the emperor's carriage as it approached. On this ground the threatened punishment was remitted; but the next morning an ukase came out, ordering Mr B—— never to stir abroad again without spectacles, and the police were charged to see the decree put in execution.

Without being exposed to the unpleasant effect of such ordinances, it was with no small pleasure that we beheld the first symptoms of the return of milder weather. In the beginning of April the snow carpeting of the streets shewed signs of decay, and the stones of purple granite, or, as they are called, the violets of Petersburg, began to shew themselves; it was not, however, a vernal season that succeeded, but one that bore much the same temperature as an ordinary winter in England.

April 14.—The masses of ice on some of the higher parts of the river now began to separate, and large flakes were per-

ceived passing with the current* underneath the surface of the river near the town; for here it was still entire, since the frequent roads and paths that crossed it in every direction gave it a harder and firmer consistence. At length the pools of water produced from the influence of the sun on the surface began to disappear, the ice assumed a grey colour, and indicated the approach of the great event, that was regarded with so much earnestness—the breaking up of the Neva.

On the 18th of this month the police, ever careful of the lives of his imperial majesty's subjects, were observed to station their guards on the river side to prevent any person from adventuring across, and a severe beating was the sure punishment to any one whose rashness tempted him to hazard the experiment. We were soon convinced they were no mean judges with regard to time: on the next day, at seven o'clock in the morning, fresh symptoms of the expected dissolution became visible. The quays were lined with spectators, and many a wager on the first parting of the great sheet was to be lost and won. Presently portions of ice in the centre of the river began to sink, the holes rapidly increased, in a few minutes the mass split in various directions, and every part was at once set in motion, grating and tearing flake against flake under the heavy pressure of the current.

* It is this circumstance which proves so destructive to the piers and foundations of buildings on the river side, cutting to pieces the timbers, and frequently, by its buoyancy, tearing them up.

From this moment the three quarters of the city were entirely cut off from communication with each other; the passage for boats was not only attended with danger, but actually prohibited, and the bridges were useless, being always loosened at one end, and parting with the stroke of the ice to one side or the other, so as to afford no obstruction.

In the course of three days, however, the river became tolerably clear, and at twelve o'clock on the 22d a salute was fired from the fortress to announce the passage of the governor and suite, who annually presents a goblet of pure river water to the emperor or any of the family resident at the palace. After this ceremony was gone through, the ferrymen dashed fearlessly through the stream, each striving with emulation to be the first to reach the opposite shore, and a free passage was open to all.

On the 1st of May, a day which is kept as a *fête* throughout the North, a promenade is made *en voiture* to Catherinoff, whither the empress and all the gay world repair in mutual congratulation to hail the first burst of the genial season. Vegetation, however, as yet, shewed itself but scantily; on the hills of Finland, and the higher grounds towards the south of the city, some slight symptoms of verdure were to be traced; but the plains below were on every side still covered with the same mantle of brown.

On the 15th a cruel reverse took place: the weather, which never is settled till the ice from the Ladoga has come down, was disturbed by the blast of a northerly wind: the

surface of the river was again strewed with icy flakes, reaching in continuance from the mouth of the lake to the sea shore, chilling the air for many a mile, and bringing with them a second winter. Their passage was accompanied by a fall of snow and a hard frost, both highly unacceptable, though no more than had been predicted by those acquainted with the climate, who always, indeed, speak of the shock of this season as more prejudicial to the health than the rigour of all the previous winter. After this, to our inexpressible delight, the river again grew clear. It was indeed a fortunate event, for the duration of the passage of the ice is various, sometimes lasting for a fortnight, or even longer. It must be at all times uncertain; for it is obvious, only a small part of the immense mass that covers the Ladoga can be conveyed through the comparatively narrow channel of the Neva: the rest is broken on its shore, and melted down as the season advances; but of course, as long as the northerly breeze continues, the river is always served with a constant supply from above. The appearance of these flakes is worth observing: their texture is so rotten as to yield to the slightest concussion; their surface is completely honey-combed; and on being taken into the hand they separate into small thin spicula, perhaps formed by the melting of the snow, that before overspread them.

When all this had passed away, the bridges were again established, and we began to congratulate ourselves on the assurance of the times. Among other symptoms of the

improvement of the weather, one in which we felt most interested was the arrival of the mails from England; for upwards of thirty-six were now due, an arrear almost unprecedented in the course of any former winter.

May 29.—Spring and autumn are seasons that might be well omitted in the Russian calendar; from summer to winter, or winter to summer, is only one step. Scarcely had a complete week now elapsed when the trees, that before hardly shewed their buds, were clothed in full leaf, and afforded a refreshing shelter against the sun, whose rays were already too warm to be agreeable; and the face of nature was every where renewed to a state of beauty, of which one had almost lost the remembrance. In the fervency of the ostentatious gratitude that characterises the Russian church, the verdure annually receives a solemn benediction; the places of worship, as well as private houses, are filled with the consecrated boughs born by the devotees; and on the first Sunday after Ascension-day, the same priests, who poured their blessing on the frozen water in the winter*, hail, with similar ceremonies, the summer vegetation. The *fête* was farther solemnised by another promenade to Catherinoff as before: coaches, droshkas, landaus, caleches, every carriage that could be produced, was pressed into service, and by the returns it appeared that above 2000 made their appearance in the procession. The eternally vexatious police were again in

* This is performed on the 6th of January, O. S.

attendance, and they preserved the strictest order, not to say most tiresome regularity: all the carriages were ranged in lines passing and repassing, and while perpetually watched by the corps of spies, it was impossible, on any excuse, to change your direction. On the following day was a promenade on foot in the summer gardens.

Perhaps the greatest singularities in a spectacle of this sort are the numerous decorations of Russian knighthood, which seem worn by persons of all ranks and descriptions: St. Andrew, St. Catherine, St. Alexander Newsky, St. George, St. Vladomir, St. Anne, and the cross of Malta; with all their several classes and gradations. Some military officers, lately returned from Paris, appeared to carry a *bouquet* of ribbons on their breasts. *Chevalier de plusieurs ordres*, or even *de tous les ordres de l'empire*, is not a title very uncommon: the great cross of St. Andrew indeed gives a right to wear all the other insignia, except the first of St. George. This may be called perhaps the most honourable badge of merit that any European sovereign has it in his power to bestow in reward of services: by the rules of its institution, it can only be granted to those officers who have won a general battle as commander in chief; and had been worn by only four knights previous to the investiture of Kutusow. Other decorations are granted with such profusion as to challenge but little distinction for their wearer; one, indeed, of the emperor's valets is adorned with the fourth class of a most respectable order.

The Maltese cross used to be sold for a stipulated sum, and was bought and worn, not only by men young and old, but also by several chevaleresque ladies resident at Petersburg. But the validity of the right, by which the honour can be conferred by the emperor, is liable to some question: the claimants to the grand-mastership of the order of St. John were more than one, and the Emperor Paul's title none of the strongest. He was called to the vacant dignity (in pursuance of his own recommendation) by an irregular chapter, composed of a few accidental chevaliers at Petersburg, at the time when the French, finding themselves unable to keep possession of Malta, made a cession of it to Russia just as it was about to yield to the British arms. This mock election was followed by the ridiculous farce of dispatching Count Litta a few miles out of the town, with directions to return in quality of an ambassador from the knights of Malta, declaring himself charged with full power to invest his imperial majesty with the insignia of the title he so much coveted. The self-appointed envoy was received in due form at the palace, and the emperor, being completely satisfied, distributed crosses, grand crosses, and pennyless commanderies without reserve.

The objects of curiosity at Petersburg are numerous: the winter gardens of the Taurida Palace, and the hanging gardens of the *Palais d' Hyver*, as well as those of Prince Gazarin, are true specimens of Russian luxury. The former is a shrubbery planted with evergreens, inclosed in a spacious saloon, and has been often described; the latter

are parterres warmed by heated flues: they are raised on terraces to the level of the first or second story of the house; whither having mounted, the stranger, to his great surprise, finds himself ushered into shady walks, and trees, and groves. The Mikhail Palace, built by Paul, is singular only for its whimsical taste, and as the scene of the murder of its founder. The imperial palaces of Czarskoselo, Peterhof, and Oranienbaum, have but little claim to distinction; they are spacious country seats built from the designs of foreign architects, with gardens in the English style. It is scarcely worthy of remark that at Peterhof we were shewn the picture of the naval engagement in Tchesmi Bay; the same for the sake of which a ship of 300 tons was bought and set on fire at Leghorn, by the order of Catherine II. that her painter might learn to represent, in true colours, the explosion that occurred during this celebrated battle. What his unassisted imagination would have produced is a difficult problem to resolve, perhaps nothing better; but here he certainly has completely failed in his undertaking.

June 1.—Finding ourselves on the coast of Oranienbaum, we embarked for Cronstadt, from the same shore whence Peter III. set sail for this fortress, upon the breaking out of the conspiracy of his consort. Being furnished with permission from the governor—for without this we should, like his majesty, have met with a rebuff—we were admitted, and carried to view the town, the harbour, and the fortifications.

It is a naval station, situated conveniently enough for the defence of Petersburg, at about 10 leagues distance: two passages lead to the mouth of the Neva, one on the north, the other on the south, both commanded by islands strongly fortified. The fort of Cronslot is the most considerable of these: it is formed of a pentagonal rampart rising directly from the water, with two tier of embrasures for cannon; the whole constructed in solid masonry of granite, of which material, indeed, all the works are now renewed that were originally built by Peter I. of wood.

The arsenal and docks of Cronstadt are similarly fortified towards the sea, having the appearance of great strength; though on the side of the west, looking to the remaining part of the island, the place is very slenderly defended.

The display of shipping was not very large: about 30 English vessels lay in the Merchant's Mole; on the other side were eight sail of the line, and one more was in dock; but to add to the shew, the fleet from England was expected to arrive in the course of the month. We saw the camels which are used for the ships launched at the docks of Petersburg, in order to enable them to surmount the bar at the river mouth: they consisted of two immense wooden caissons, made to fit on each side, so as to embrace the hull of the ship; for that purpose they are filled with water, then sunk, and grappled on; this done, the water is pumped out, and the whole mass buoyed up together, so as to lessen the draught by many feet. These machines are not unique

of their kind; the same are in use at Hamburgh, and they were adopted in a certain way by the French at Venice, to carry their ships over the *lagunes*, with their ordnance and ammunition on board, at the time they were in danger from the activity of the English cruisers in the vicinity.

The docks at Cronstadt are cut in the shape of a cross, with a bason in the centre: each of the three arms is made capable of receiving two ships, one ahead of the other, the fourth being left clear for the entrance: the whole was lined with granite, and provided with the requisite apparatus of pumps. The construction of their ships is not a charge of so light a nature to the Russian government as might be expected, except in the case of those furnished from the dockyard at Archangel, which are entirely of fir; but oak is used at Cronstadt, and is very expensive, on account of the distance whence it is brought, coming chiefly from the province of Casan. The actual cost to government I have no means of ascertaining: the merchant vessels are generally calculated about 100 R. per ton; which is cheap in comparison of what is generally paid in England, but not so low as might be supposed on the coast of the Baltic. Complaints are raised here also, as with us, of the defective nature of the timber employed in the dock-yards: their ships last, on an average, about fourteen years; nevertheless, in one or two instances, they have been condemned and broken up after a service of only four.

It is remarkable that the timber of many of the old wooden dwellings, built in the time of Peter the Great, have

frequently been found perfectly sound, even to the day of their being pulled down, appearing, even now, much more likely to resist decay than any that have been used within the last twenty or thirty years. It may be said, however, and perhaps with truth, that only those houses where the timber was originally of the best quality have thus defied the lapse of years, and remained for the inspection of succeeding architects.

With regard to the ordnance one peculiarity may be mentioned, that the pieces are furnished with a small spike on the ring of the muzzle, elevated so as to give the line of vision from the breech exactly parallel with the bore of the piece: a similar scheme is generally adopted in the English carronades for the sea service. But this provision seems to have been made in all the old Russian cannon, even of the reign of Ivan IV., of which sufficient examples are seen in the imperial arsenal. Here, also, another ingenious contrivance, equally adapted for acquiring precision in firing at an horizontal range, is displayed in some of their artillery, a few of which, calculated for balls of three or four pound weight, were made with rifle barrels. They were evidently, by their shape, of certain antiquity, and one bore the date of the reign of Michael Feodorowitz in the 16th century, a period certainly long anterior to the use of the rifle-barrelled guns in the rest of Europe. We were told that the invention had been long known in certain parts of Russia, and the peasants in the government of Olonetz, who are celebrated as marksmen, were said to

have had among them fowling pieces on this construction long anterior to that time.

Having mentioned these instances of Russian ingenuity, it is not unfair to state a circumstance which does not reflect much credit on the skill of their workmen. About the beginning of the month, the greatest part of the plaister ornaments of the ceiling of the Casan church fell down, leaving the vault in many places quite bare. The accident happened to the infinite joy of the foreigners employed in the architectural line, and discomfiture of the natives; but the fact was that the iron claws, necessary to sustain the coffer and roses in the several compartments of the roof, had been made too small, either through knavish parsimony or ignorance and neglect. If the former was the case, the persons employed deserve serious punishment from the police, as the lives of his imperial majesty's subjects were endangered thereby: if the latter, it must be confessed it was done in the usual style of Russian workmanship, where any specimen is imitated to the eye with wonderful neatness and precision, but the solidity or durability, inseparable from the productions of a well practised artisan, are qualities neither known nor thought of.

SECTION IV.

FROM PETERSBURG TO MOSCOW AND SMOLENSKO.

Road of Peter I.—Peasantry—Criminal Justice—Novgorod the Great—Tartar Cottages—Barrows, &c.—Valdai—Canal of Vishni Volotchok—Communications with Siberia—Twer—Approach of the French in 1812—*Alarm in these Districts, and again at the Capital—Mistaken Expectations of the French—Devotion of the Nobles and the People—State of Affairs kept secret at Moscow—Sudden Arrival of the French—Conflagration—Present Appearance of Moscow—Anecdotes of Sufferers during the Occupation—Condition of the French Army—Kremlin: Part destroyed by Explosion—Extraordinary Instance of Superstition—Magnificence of the Kremlin—Imperial Coronation, &c.—Mode of living among the Nobles—Trade of Moscow with Boukhara, &c.—Devitchi Nunnery—Repairs of the City since the Conflagration—Relief afforded to the Inhabitants—Conduct of the Peasantry—Evacuation of Moscow—Return of the Russian Troops, &c.—Mojaisk—Field of Borodino—Viasma—Inveteracy of the Rustics against the French—Difficulties of the Retreat—Stand made at Dorogobusch—Misery of the French—Cruelty of*

the Russian Peasants—Smolensko—Disorganised State of the French Army—Its Cause and Consequence.

JUNE 12.—We had for some time been in preparation to leave Petersburg; our names, as is necessary, had been advertised three times in the gazette, our podarashna or order for horses procured, and our passports had gone through all the tedious formalities required by the regulations of the police: we set out, therefore, on this day on our journey for Moscow. A few versts from the city barriers introduced to our notice the wooden road constructed by Peter the Great to his new built city: it is of singular construction, an elevated causeway, carried in one long, level, unvarying, straight line for many a league, over marsh and bog, and through thick forests of birch and fir. On each side is an esplanade, cleared for the breadth of about a hundred yards, for the accommodation of cattle coming up for market, and the same provision is made by law on all the great provincial roads; by which means the journey, even of two months from the Ukraine to Petersburg, becomes practicable at no great expense to the graziers, and without much fatigue or injury to their herd.

The causeway is thus constructed: three poles or sleepers are laid lengthways on the ground, over these is a flooring of small trees closely compacted and pinned down at the edges with a piece of timber used as a kirb; in very marshy situations, two of such floorings are generally used.

ROAD to MOSCOW from a Spot near NOVOGROD.

The trees are here and there, in villages for instance, neatly joined together; but in other parts, where the round trunks only occur, the incessant jolting of the carriage over so uneven a surface is the source of many a bruise to the weary traveller. The inhabitants of Russia are too familiar with this inconvenience not to have found means of alleviating it, and they universally fill their travelling carriages with soft pillows taken from their beds, which give a particularly luxurious though grotesque appearance to their equipages.

We passed two German colonies, planted by Catherine, near Petersburg, for the improvement of agriculture; but beyond these settlements every thing was in a state of uncultivated nature.

The roar of the wolves indeed (which we actually heard during the night), a sound scarcely more dissonant than the unceasing song of the shaggy Mougik that drove the carriage, was yet sufficient to afford a hint of the sort of country we were traversing, though only between thirty and forty versts distant from the great metropolis. The inhabitants of these parts, the peasant race, seem as wild savages just caught from the woods, with whom you can only hold converse through the medium of a rouble or a thick stick; either of the two are equally efficacious, and both sometimes necessary. They lie out day and night, sleeping on their sheepskins by the road-side, careless of any enjoyment but those of animal existence. Our driver seized a rope, and, as we passed, most soundly thrashed two of these creatures who were asleep before the house door; the hairy

brutes awoke, half raised themselves, stared about, but finding the blow was not from their master, and that nothing was required, composed themselves again in the dirt to sleep as before. I have seen an hundred quarrels in Petersburg, but never saw one blow struck, unless by a superior: it is not, indeed, ever held so much a mark of anger, as an assertion of superiority, and where respect is due, is put up with accordingly.

All general occurrences in their routine of life are met with a sort of stupid good humour; and the practical jokes of which this class seem so fond are given and taken in turn.

As contrasted with their rude appearance, it has a singular effect to observe the strict regularity with which they cross themselves at every church or oratory by the road; as also to remark the ceremonious salutations they constantly use towards each other on meeting. The meanest Mougik takes off his cap to the meanest Mougik his friend; he walks hand in hand with him, and kisses him on the cheek when they part, each calling the other by the endearing appellation of brother. In the same way they speak of their master or the emperor, with a sort of filial respect, always coupling with his name the title of father. Similar forms of external courtesy, at least in salutation, occur to one's recollection as being practised by the common people both in Sweden and in Scotland; but in neither is it manifested so strikingly as here.

A stranger would be inclined almost to attribute these

expressions of fraternal feeling in the Russian boors to a sense of their companionship in misery. It is really painful to humanity to see these miserable rustics chained in pairs, working or begging on the road-side, when, perhaps, their only crime is to have offended the whim of their master. On their part, however, they seem by no means alive to any sentiment of disgrace or degradation; their situation seldom checks their mirth, but they sing even in their fetters as loudly and noisily as ever.

All those who are so punished are not, nevertheless, to be supposed entirely undeserving of their lot; many are sentenced for petty thefts, others for their debts, and so on: but they are confounded together, servant, debtor, or malefactor, all in one prison, and sometimes linked in the same chain. The limitation of arrests has been before alluded to; it is sufficient to add, that personal liberty is held so cheap in this country, that the sum of one rouble and a half is sufficient to place a man in a state of confinement.

Corporal punishment, as adjudged by law (it only belongs to these classes) is usually inflicted with the battorge or rod on the buttocks; where heavier offences require severer chastisement, the knout is applied. The instrument is a whip made of dried fish-skin cut to a point and fastened on a steel handle; the executioners are said to be so expert in the use of it, that they can inflict a mortal wound with fifteen or twenty blows: this is not often resorted to, and when it is done, it is generally supposed to

be under a private injunction from the judge: for the principle of legislation in Russia, like the mistaken clemency of the American government, forbids any tribunal to pass sentence of death upon a malefactor. The regulation here exists in consequence of an ukase of the Empress Anne, by virtue of which the punishment of 200 lashes with the knout, the tearing off the nostrils with red hot pincers, a journey on foot to Siberia, and perpetual condemnation to the mines, is substituted as a more humane species of retribution for capital crimes.

To assist the preservation of order in the country, a civil magistrate, called the Captain Yprasnik, is nominated in every district, being an officer who was intended by Catherine II. to supply the place of a justice of the peace, and he is vested with the same powers as that important functionary in England: but the scheme failed from want of persons properly qualified in point of information as well as character and rank, to take upon themselves the discharge of such duties. The place was not gratuitous, a fixed salary being allowed; from the smallness of which, none but the poorest members of the nobility (men ill adapted in every way) were found to accept the appointment.

After making 180 versts, we approached *Novgorod Veliki*, Novgorod the Great, a city whose antiquity amounts as high as the fifth century, and one whose splendour under her dukes, as well as subsequent power and wealth under a

republican * form of administration, occupy a large portion of the Russian history. The spirit of liberty was once felt in this nation now so degraded, although it never made those vigorous shoots which it did among the other nations of the north. The crown was originally elective, and the boiars, of whom we read so much, were a sort of permanent house of peers, without whose advice the czar never dared to act; their influence, both direct and indirect, seems to have been very considerable in the concerns of the empire. They made but little figure, however, after the days of Tartar oppression, when a new system and new ideas seem to have changed the face of every thing in Russia: while the absolute power acquired by succeeding sovereigns, rendered necessary, indeed, by the confusion and anarchy of the times, entirely overwhelmed the small remains of their former authority.

But to return to Novgorod, though it once contained more than 400,000 inhabitants, and covered an area of 63 versts in circumference, little now is left to remind the traveller of its former grandeur. The streets presented mouldering walls, empty courts, churches in decay, and a

* The administration of Novgorod very nearly resembled that of the free cities of Germany at the present day. The officers were as follows:

Posadnik (bourgomaster) annual.

Tyriatski, an officer who tempers, by his authority, the exercise of the power of the posadnik.

Boiars (senators) elected from the citizens.

Starosta (police officer).

Namestnik, an officer of the grand duke.

few dwellings thinly scattered amidst large void spaces of desolation. We were shewn, nevertheless, though it was almost the only relic, a house formerly occupied by Marpha Posadnitza, or widow of the Posadnik, an intriguing heroine, who headed the troops of the city against the hosts of Ivan III., and supported the last efforts that were made by the declining republic: at her decease the liberties of Novgorod were extinguished for ever. Not content, however, with its humiliation, the conqueror caused the most horrible massacres to be committed, whose consequences, together with the atrocious cruelties that succeeded in the reign of Ivan IV., were such as to reduce the great city to its present condition of poverty and insignificance.

The walls of the Kremlin still remain, containing within their circle the church of St. Sophia, with the tombs of Vladomir and Feodor, and the brass gates brought (says Gibbon) from Kherson in the Crimea at the time of Vladomir's expedition against the Greek empire. There were also some curious specimens of architecture as well as of painting, of the date of the 11th or 12th century; the latter have been much celebrated, but I think do not possess any great interest, being apparently retouched, or rather renewed. These matters did not delay us very long; and since our curiosity was not sufficient to tempt us to visit the millstone on which St. Anthony was carried from Rome to his church at Novogorod, we rested ourselves, repaired our carriage, for it was already necessary, and continued our route.

VILLAGE of BRONNIZUI, NOVGOROD.

London, Published by J. Murray, Albemarle Street, 1813.

Several barrows were to be seen in these stages; they were, for the most part, situated on the side of the river Msta, varying perpetually in figure and form: conical, circumvallated, truncated, &c. General tradition attributes their erection to the Tartars; and the idea is certainly far from improbable, since the troops of the Golden Horde were repulsed by the army of Novgorod somewhere within this district. The same origin is ascribed to the fantastical taste that adorns the cottages in these parts, which being a style entirely new to us, deserves description. These dwellings are built of large round logs of timber, resembling in construction those we before mentioned as having seen in Ingria, and differing only in fashion. Their high gable roofs project to an enormous length over the front, sometimes overhanging as much as sixteen or eighteen feet, profusely carved and adorned with small pendants at the extremities, in the form of which, as well as their collocation, a curious resemblance may be traced between them and the houses in the northernmost parts of the Tyrol; they are similar also in this respect, that the communications in the upper story are carried on by means of a gallery outside of the wall. I know, however, no reason to account for these coincidences.

On the 14th we arrived at Waldai, a modern Polish colony, which exhibits strong traces of its origin in the beauty and complexion of the women. In point of situation, it is an Oasis in the desert; the town itself well built, and placed romantically enough on the banks of a small

lake. In the centre of this is a woody island, crowned with the glittering domes of a Greek monastery; and the whole scene around glows with that luxuriant interchange of white and red, and green and gold, that enters so largely into the composition of a Russian view. The rising grounds which we had surmounted before our arrival at the town, are denominated in this level country the Waldai mountains. They form, in fact, the highest point of elevation between the Gulf of Finland and the Euxine sea; the rivers taking from hence their course in both directions. Induced by this circumstance, Peter I. looked upon the spot as affording the means of organising a scheme of communication by water between the north and south of his empire. He accordingly opened a canal, which has met with much success since his day, and become the great channel of circulation for the produce of the remotest points. On one side a passage is open through the Twertza and the Volga to Astracan and the Caspian sea: on the other, through the lake Ilmen, the Volkof, the Ladoga, and the Neva, to Petersburg and the Baltic; while again from the east are brought the merchandise of China and produce of the Siberian mines.

This grand scheme, however, was not to be effected without difficulty; though the ascent and descent to the Twertza was accomplished by ordinary locks: the fall of ground towards the Msta required different management to render it in any way practicable for navigation. But Peter I. was not to be discouraged: an immense reservoir

was constructed, which, by collecting the water from the small lakes in the neighbourhood, supplies a stream sufficient to carry the boats down these steeps: this necessarily flows off rapidly, and therefore is husbanded with care; vessels being only permitted to pass once in eight or ten days, in caravans of 15 or 20 at a time.

The nature of this voyage is curious enough: when they are all assembled, which is done by beat of drum, the sluices are opened, and they follow one another with the flush of water down the precipitous passage, called the Borovitsky falls. Sundry provisions are made for their safety. In the most difficult windings of the river are moored large buoys which throw round the head of the boat when it strikes against them, if their sweeps have failed of their purpose; and in case any accident should occur, the Cossacks who are stationed at certain intervals instantly give notice above, when the sluices are closed and the supply of the current cut off. This dangerous course continues for near 33 versts; and with a view to their security, each boat is built slight and supple, and the freight set apart by an open space of one or two feet in the middle, so as to give room for the play of the timbers of her frame, which is sometimes so much shaken that the two sides of the cargo are brought to meet. To remount the cataracts is impossible; the vessels, therefore, are all burnt for fire-wood at Petersburg.

The conception of a scheme like this is unique of its sort perhaps in the world; how much, therefore, are we

bound to admire the mind of Peter I. that gave it birth, at such a time among such a people. For the sake of comparison with our own country, we may add that the first river made navigable in England was the Thames, under an act of parliament passed in the reign of James I.; and the first commercial canal which was cut, I believe, was that from the Mersey to St. Helens, at no earlier period than the middle of the last century.

The route of the caravans coming by water from China and Siberia may excite some curiosity, for they are brought chiefly by water; from Kiachta they make their voyage by the Selenga and the Baikal, the Angara, Tongouska, Jeneissei rivers, without interruption; here, however, they disembark and travel 60 versts over land to the Kett, thence by the Obi, the Irtisch, the Tobolsk, into the Isset; after which they again quit their boats, and make about 60 versts over the Oural mountains to the Tschoussovaya, and then by the Kama, the Wolga, and the Twertza, to this place and to Petersburg. The expenses of these journies, as well as the distances, have been before stated when treating of Siberia.

The facilitating the communications by water has been made a particular object of attention with the Russian government. The Mariensky canal, between the Kofgia and the Vitegra in the north, and the Ladoga canal, for the purpose of avoiding the dangerous passage of the lake, are completed. The junction of the Markta and the Volga, the Oka and the Don, the Priepicz with the Niemen and

the Bog, the improvement of the navigation of the Dnieper, all schemes projected, and some in an advanced state, are sufficient examples of the attention they have bestowed on this matter. These matters are, without exception, the undertakings of the crown; it is not to be expected indeed that the speculation of individuals should hazard much on such concerns.

The carriage of goods by land, however advisable these plans may be, is carried on at an extremely cheap rate; and, during the winter, the nature of their climate allows still greater facilities for the conveyance of heavy loads than at this time of the year.

It is by giving aid to her domestic circulation that the real national wealth of Russia must be accumulated: every circumstance conspires to point out the necessity of improving her internal advantages before she should look to those ultimate objects which she now vainly hopes to attain. Her condition places insurmountable obstacles in the way of her manufacturing trade, and the struggle is useless.

Bounded on the north by Tornea and the Frozen Sea, on the south by the Sireth, the Danube, the Oural, the Aras, and the Caspian; occupying from east to west an extent of 170°; she possesses within herself every variety of climate and soil, and almost every species of vegetable and mineral production that foreign trade can offer for her supply. It is by the cultivation of these means, and the amalgamating and equalising, as far as possible, the several

local bounties of nature, that the country must hope to thrive.

Of the promise held out by speculations in this line many instances might be given, but it will be sufficient to mention one, which bears a reference to the standard food of Russia. I have been informed that a coul of rye has been sold at Chevalinsk, on the Volga, for one rouble, at the same time that the price in Petersburg market was no less than nineteen. The point, however, receives the best illustration from the uncommon activity of the transport trade, which is displayed in every direction, and this neither regulated, as is the case in other affairs, by the interference of the government, or, indeed, requiring any ascititious aid for its support. We seldom met less than from four to six caravans each day, consisting of strings of twenty or thirty single horsed carts, carrying half a ton each; these were in motion at all times and in all parts; wherever a plain was open to our view they appeared like ants over the face of the earth, realising a prospect of lucrative traffic, to the extension of whose concerns no possible limit could be drawn. They were laden, some with the produce of the neighbourhood, and some with that of the southern districts; tallow, leather, bristles, hides, &c., all bound for Petersburg: those on their return carried colonial produce, of various sorts, to the interior: sugar, coffee, logwood and other articles for dyeing; a few of them, much to our surprise, were freighted with small cargoes of English lead, for we were told it could be afforded at a cheaper rate here

than the metal brought from the Siberian mines. The circumstance makes in favour of the views of the Russian government as to the necessity of the improvement of the means of internal circulation, but bears an irrefragable testimony to the impropriety of giving a check to foreign commerce at this present time.

The Russian leather, another great article of transport, was manufactured in abundance at Torjok, our next stage. It is tanned with oak bark in general, and coloured with cochineal, a perfume being added by the use of a certain oil, the nature of which is kept a secret in the manufactories. Torjok contained nothing else very remarkable. The town was pretty, the country wild and bare: the costume of the people chiefly attracted our attention: it is varied in almost every province of Russia, and here bore the strongest marks of an oriental character, both from the small double horned coif, as also from the long white shawls in which the women were enveloped from the crown of their heads to their feet: underneath this was worn an habit fitted to the body like a gown, and even amongst the lowest classes, gorgeously ornamented. They were coloured blue or red, bordered with broad stripes of variegated lace, made with open sleeves and a profusion of foil and beads. The men were dressed generally in red shirts, worn over trowsers of blue or white; their legs bound up with dirty rag or thick rings of woollen, and their feet thrust into shoes, matted of the bark of the lime-tree. In their girdles, they usually carried an hatchet, which is the fac-

totum of a Russian clown, and wielded with the dexterity which all savages accustomed to the use of a single instrument invariably acquire.

As for travelling, we journeyed according to the prejudices of the country with four horses abreast, and sometimes, where the wooden road was damaged or in want of repair, we employed six. The part of the Russian apparatus which seems most worthy of admiration is a bow of wood arched at an height of two feet above the horse's shoulders; through a ring placed at the top is passed the bearing rein, which, from its position, affords much greater security to the horse against falling, than when, as in our English mode, it is hooked on the horse's back. I do not ever remember to have seen a broken-kneed horse in Russia: something similar may be observed in use among the waggon-teams in Austria; the collar of the horses is raised into an high peak, over which the rein is carried for the same purpose: but it is by no means either so little burthensome to the beast, or, in other respects, so efficient as the plan adopted in Russia. The scheme is applied not only to the carts and waggons, but brought into use in all the most elegant harness of the sledge or droshka, or other carriages drawn by a shaft, becoming, when well managed, a very ornamental addition to the equipage.

Another fashion, as prevalent as the above, but which does not merit the same share of praise, is the use of the *furieux*; this is an horse that, although attached, is not employed in the draught of the carriage, but serves merely

for ornament, capering and curvetting by the side of the shaft horse: in order to improve his action and fit him for this duty, he is constantly kept with his neck drawn awry by a short rein affixed to his side, and, to assist the graceful twist of his head, he is placed under the same constraint even in the stable. I know not to whom to give the merit of invention.

The outermost horses of our own range, when six were employed, appeared not to be of much more service during the journey than those used as the above, as indeed may be easily surmised. The day had already broken when we arrived in sight of the city of Twer, and the spreading waters of the Volga. There is a certain degree of vague and indeterminate respect attached to some names, when we can scarce assign any reasonable ground for such a feeling, and we discovered mingled impressions of delight and wonder as we touched the banks of this sacred stream: yet I know not that the river god boasts any peculiar attributes, or claims our notice from any more striking powers than those of bestowing fertility on pasture lands and corn-fields. The town was noted for the massacre of the Tartars, in the reign of the Grand Duke Alexander Mikailovitch, when a tragical scene, like that of the Sicilian vespers, was exhibited; but this is no extraordinary feature in the Russian annals. We passed the river by a bridge of boats, and entering the streets found ourselves again encircled by splendid public buildings (for it is the seat of the provincial government) and walled convents, and churches

covered with cupolas. Its general wealthy appearance is owing to the trade it enjoys as an entrepot for goods brought by the river: which are forwarded in various directions, chiefly, however, over land in a straight line to Riga. One of the great water caravans was at this time hourly expected to arrive, and four or five of the vessels were already in sight, towed by horses against the stream; a tedious labour that interested us but little.

We were now entering upon a new field of speculation, and about to tread those grounds that had so lately been the seat of a war, the most important in its consequences which the world ever saw. The association of locality, it must be confessed, gives an hold to the imagination when wandering over this momentous period, and in traversing the scene of operation, seems to place before us, in a tangible shape, all that our mind had fancied or pictured to itself of great events. Here we identify ourselves in thought with the actors in these revolutions themselves, and enjoy the delight of a more than theatrical representation. Every spot partakes a shade of gloom or horror, of grief or pity, from the sights it has witnessed; and the cry of danger and alarm seems still to reside in the haunts where the din of war has once been heard.

When the rapid advance of the French army in 1812, and the occupation of Moscow, seemed at once to have decided the fate of the campaign, the general consternation in these quarters was at its greatest height; all the merchants at Twer removed their goods to more distant

parts, and orders were said to be issued that the town should be committed to the flames, in case the chance of war should render it liable to the occupation of the enemy; so the chance of a few hours might have involved it in the fate of Smolensko, Mojaisk, Viasma, and Moscow.

To prevent, however, their advance in this line, a corps of 30,000 men had been collected under General Witzingerode, and posted in the neighbourhood of Klin. Yet no appearance of protection could relieve the fears of the people, either in the towns or the country; every mode of conveyance was put in requisition, and the inhabitants of the district dispersed in various directions, flying to Vladomir, and to N. Novgorod, while some scarce thought themselves secure at a place less remote than Kasan. But it was not in this neighbourhood alone the alarm was felt; even at Petersburg, the dreadful news that was announced overpowered their senses. Kutusow's motions were unknown; the French appeared irresistible, and every one fancied they saw their legions already entering the city gates. Preparations were made to move the court to Casan; the valuables of the palace were packed up; the several imperial institutions ordered to be in readiness for a journey to Finland; the fleet departed; and all persons who had connexions in England, hurried their wives and families, or even their property, to London. It is indeed a curious instance of unfortunate precaution, that a Russian nobleman's pictures being sent thither to be placed out of the way of French rapacity, were burned in the fire which broke out at the custom-

house. But the fears of individuals had been infinitely augmented by these public demonstrations of alarm; and in proportion as people were further removed from the scene of action, they became the more a prey to vague conjecture and phantoms of the imagination.

In the course of our journey, the day after we quitted Twer, we came upon the place where the advanced posts of the French army had been established during the occupation of Moscow. It was a small village belonging to Count Strogonov, at about the distance of forty versts from the city, and had been the theatre of many a sanguinary rencontre. The spot at this time presented no features of ravage; the houses were renewed, and the whole bore a quiet and tranquil appearance. The villagers, sitting before their doors, were chanting their wild songs over their work: the women for the most part industriously employed in making laces; the children playing around with baffis; and the men, as usual, apart, sluggish from the sultriness of the evening, were sleeping here and there on the bare ground. The contrast of their dingy wooden cabins with the merry air and gay attire of the female groups, formed a picture of the most striking singularity.

How mistaken were the notions that induced Buonaparte to think that these people would ever lend themselves to a scheme like his! How erroneous the representations of his treacherous emissaries! He had himself found by experience that the volatile Italian, even in the highest days of revolutionary frenzy, was seldom able fully to co-operate with the

frantic desires of his mind. What could be expected from the bigotry, obstinacy, and ignorance of Russian slaves? Utterly incompetent to picture in imagination those visionary ideas of liberty that were offered, they felt content with the state of things as they were, because they were so, without the power of exercising more than an inert, sluggish attachment, even on any score. Their constancy did not arise from respect for present customs and ordinances, not from a sober dislike to change, but from an absolute incapacity to discover what the prospect of change might be. "Avant "de voir les democrates, les demagogues, les jacobins, il "faut en avoir eu des royalistes, des aristocrates, des monar- "chiens ; ils n'ont encore que des esclaves*."

If French promises succeeded in deluding a few individuals in the manufacturing districts of Toula and Kalouga, it was a rare exception. For the rest,—far from receiving the demonstrations of fraternisation with satisfaction, the Mougik, who saw that, in spite of the proffered kindness, his dwelling was invaded, his wife and daughters violated, and his church polluted by the wantonness of a stranger, was roused by rage from his apathy, and flew at once to arms. This exasperation was constantly increased by fresh instances of aggravation, and every day brought new proofs of the growing enthusiasm of the country.

Twenty of these poor creatures, who refused to act as guides to some detachments of the French army, were tried

* Mémoires Secretes sur la Russie. Paris, 1800.

for disobedience, and sentenced to be shot. They were marched to the fatal spot, when, embracing one another, and taking leave, each man stepped forward in his turn, and, after crossing himself, submitted to his fate without a groan.

The peasants of Prince B. Gallitzen afforded a bright example of love for their country, though of another description. They assembled one morning, and surrounded the house of their lord, to the number of near three thousand, in a tumultuous body, that might have excited a different suspicion in a stranger's breast. The prince was absent, having a command of militia in the neighbourhood, but the princess made her appearance, and demanded of them what it was they wanted; they answered, they had placed their wives and children, and their goods, in security in the forest, and came to her to ask for arms, that they might share with their master the duties of the field. A more simple and impressive exhibition of patriotic sentiment could hardly be conceived.

The nobles displayed a spirit of earnestness and devotion such as had never been experienced in any other enemy with whom the French hitherto had measured strength. Individuals exerted themselves to the utmost: Countess Orlov gave 4,000,000 roubles as a contribution towards the expences; Count Mamounoff the amount of his income for that year, offering also some valuable jewels to the emperor for the same purpose; Count Zouboff, Soltigoff, Demidoff, and many others too numerous to be particularised, followed

the same example. The nobles of the government of Moscow met the emperor in a body, at their capital, in the month of July, and far outstripped, by voluntary offers, all the demands he made upon them. Notwithstanding the heavy draughts of men * that had taken place, 80,000 men were instantly enrolled under the name of opolchanie, or militia, by them alone, and placed at the disposal of the emperor. The numbers levied under the same denomination throughout the empire did not fall short of 900,000 men, which was at least two-thirds beyond the quota that was required.

All these were to be clothed, armed, and furnished with provision for three months, at the expense of the seigneur, who had no other right reserved to him than the nomination of their colonel. Many of these troops who afterwards were actually called into service, proved themselves worthy companions of the soldiers of Borodino; their steadiness was irreproachable, and their spirit undaunted.

The conduct of a corps of 10,000 raised in the north bears ample testimony to those feelings that were said to pervade the whole: they had been trained and assembled

* The ordinary recruiting for the army is light: one man out of 250 is taken each year; here one man in ten was drafted for the militia service. Prince Sheremetov alone raised 12,000. Every nobleman on appointing the commander to his own corps nominated Kutusow, and the emperor was hence induced to confer on him the command of the grand army. The greater part of the army employed at the siege of Dantzic were composed of these regiments of militia.

at Petersburg, whence they received orders to march to Velikaya, the nearest point which the advance of the French had reached in that direction. The emperor reviewed them before their departure, and is said to have shed tears on witnessing their expressions of enthusiastic devotion to his cause, as if presaging the melancholy fate which awaited them. It so happened that at the time of their arrival at Velikaya, Witgenstein was unable to detach troops to support them, and sent an order that they should fall back to a certain distance. "No," said they, "the last promise we "made to the emperor, our father, was, that we would never "fly before the enemy; we keep our word." They did so, and 8000 out of the number fell on the spot, the victims of their obstinate but misguided courage.

Notwithstanding the favourable state of the public mind, such is the principle of the Russian government, that it was held expedient to keep the people, as far as possible, in ignorance of the real condition of affairs, and most singular were the devices adopted. About ten days before the French forces entered Moscow, the governor, Rastopchin, issued a proclamation, stating that a balloon was preparing which was to be filled with various combustibles, and would accomplish a great scheme for the deliverance of the country; that on the following Sunday a small one would be launched by way of experiment, and the inhabitants were forewarned of its appearance, lest any unnecessary alarm should be excited, for it was only the forerunner of that which was to destroy *Znodoy, the wicked one.* Another proclamation

requested the youths of Moscow to meet on the Sparrow Hills, on a stated day, in order to repel the presumptuous hosts of the enemy. In short, every measure that could encourage a fallacious hope of confidence was resorted to on this occasion. Some reported the battle of Borodino to have been a victory on the part of the Russians, and a celebrated personage gave a grand dinner in honour of the event.

On Friday the 11th September, a public masquerade was advertised; but the general consternation had by this time gained too much ground to permit the citizens to join in diversions of this sort, and only two persons shewed themselves at the doors, where they viewed the entertainment of an empty room.

On Sunday, 13th September, all uncertainty was put at an end. The Russian army, in full retreat, entered the town, and the vanguard already held the road of Vladomir. Every one who had been deceived by idle tales, or who, fondly hoping his own wishes might prove true, had procrastinated the evil hour of departure, now hurried to join the crowd of fugitives at the city gates, and a scene of confusion ensued, that served to increase a thousand-fold the general dismay.

On the following morning, when the tumultuous passage of the troops was concluded, the police and the officers of government took their departure: the few miserable people who were unable to fly, shut themselves up within their houses, and waited, in pain and anxiety, the dreadful inter-

val that elapsed between the passage of one army and the entrance of another. Here and there the outrages of a few half drunken wretches, escaped from the prisons*, were heard; but every where besides a stillness of death prevailed; a fearful calm, that seemed destined to be the precursor of some dire convulsion.

It was about five o'clock on Monday evening, when the sound of the trumpets and clatter of horses' feet, announced the approach of the forces of Murat, who led the advance of the French. The streets were filled in rapid succession; guards were quickly posted at every open spot or avenue, and immediate possession taken of the Kremlin.

Before night closed in, Buonaparte arrived in person at the barrier on the Smolensko road, where his temporary residence was the scene of a singular occurrence. He waited some time in seeming surprise at not receiving a formal deputation from the municipality to present him with the keys of the town; but supposing a mistake might have caused the delay, he dispatched an aid-de-camp to inform them of his arrival. The officer soon returned to him with the account that neither magistracy nor police were any where to be discovered, and that the whole place was apparently deserted. Buonaparte was amazed; again he sent an officer to endeavour to search for some person at

* A party of these vagabonds pillaged the arms from the arsenal, and posted themselves in the Kremlin, which they thought sacred and impregnable; here they made an useless attempt to defend the walls, and were massacred to a man.

least, who might afford him intelligence respecting these extraordinary circumstances: his messenger wandered about for an hour or two in vain; at last he lighted upon a poor school-mistress, who was reported to be tolerably well versed in the French language; she was instantly taken from her house, mounted on a *droshka*, and sent in haste to a conference with the mighty Napoleon. Her story was such as might be expected; and this ambitious despot felt the first shock of the great catastrophe that awaited his fatal expedition.

Meanwhile the secret preparations to burn the town, and to deprive the French army of the resources they hoped to secure, had been partially carried into effect. Under pretence of constructing the balloon before mentioned, a large apparatus of fire-works and combustibles were made ready by the direction of M. Smith, at Voronzovo. In the course of this day, they were conveyed and distributed, by the hands of various emissaries, throughout every quarter of the town, and applied with the greatest assiduity. The confusion that ensued upon the occupation of so large a place aided the secrecy of their operations, and in a few instances some of the inhabitants on the eve of departure were found to lend their assistance to the scheme. Fraught as they were with the zeal of the moment, they set fire with their own hands to their empty habitations; even women were seen kneeling, crossing themselves for an instant before their own doors, and then flinging in the

fatal brand, and hurrying away half dismayed at what they had done.

On this very night the French observed a flame breaking out in the Twerskaia, a part of the city situated on the north; a short time after, a bright light was seen in the Taoutsa quarter, and several buildings of the Exchange in the Kitaigorod were reported to be on fire. These phenomena, however, were disregarded at the time; they were looked upon as occurrences of accident, orders given to extinguish them, and little further notice was taken.

By Tuesday evening the fires before observed had assumed a very serious aspect; the detachment employed to stop their progress reported their labours to be in vain; the blaze arose in a thousand places at once, and encircled them while plying their ineffectual labours. A south-west wind, which prevailed the whole day, increased its destructive fury, involving in ruin all the parts of the town lying in that direction. Of the real origin of this mischief a suspicion was as yet scarcely entertained, though some persons charged as incendiaries had been apprehended, and one daring hand, that feared not to advertise the hated invaders of what was going on, had thrown a rocket within the walls of the Kremlin.

The imperial palace, where Buonaparte had taken up his abode, after the first night spent at the barrier, was situated within the holy citadel; and whether from this circumstance, or from general alarm at the fire that threatened to surround

him every way, I know not, but it is certain that he was induced for one night to shift his quarters to the Petrovski Palace. Hither he was followed by between three and four hundred miserable objects,—hungry, houseless citizens, plundered and insulted by the soldiery, who crowded around the doors, and with dumb shew and pale faces of despair, implored the protection of him that was the cause of all. But what could be done? To stop the flames was impossible; for the rest, leave to pillage had already been granted; and numerous bands of marauders infested every place that the fire permitted to their rapacity. The licentiousness of the army was uncontrollable.

On Thursday, the wind, which had veered round by the south, set in violently from the east, as if it were destined that the destruction should on all sides be complete. On Friday it became still more boisterous; and the fiery current quickening along the wooden alleys, instead of spreading from house to house, at once wrapt whole streets in conflagration. Throughout this vast place nothing was heard but the crash of timbers and walls, with the hollow murmur of the fire, while to the sight was exhibited a circle of dismal and smothered ruins; the whole one unvarying scene. In some distant parts the breeze occasionally fanned out a momentary flame; but even this in a few seconds died away, sinking into the black and vaporous deluge that inundated the atmosphere.

Such were the features of horror that shewed themselves within the gates; without, a wretched crew of fugitives,

nobles and peasants, all alike fatigued with their march, and destitute of food, lay on the roads, and watched through the long night, "afar, afar off," the flames of the burning city. Murder and rapine stared them in the face,—the lawlessness of confusion reigned throughout,—and the eternal distrust that is engendered by calamity added distraction to their sufferings.

But to return. On Saturday morning the wind fell, and as the smoke gradually cleared off, exposed to view a field of desolation that no words can attempt to describe.

To the feelings of a native it was an heart-rending prospect indeed; no one is more alive to the pride of his country than a Russian. But setting aside the sense of disgrace, it was a sight involving so many feelings inseparable from human nature, that few ever venture even to reflect upon the measures which had been adopted; and noble as this sacrifice appeared,—greatly as it has been admired throughout Europe,—there is no Russian at this day that will avow from what means the conflagration arose; but it is invariably ascribed by people at Petersburg, as well as here, to the malice of the French army. History, however, will do justice to the nation, and blazon in its true colours this signal triumph of Russian magnanimity.

It was from the road as it passed under the turrets of the Petrovsky Palace, that we first beheld the myriads of domes and steeples that yet glittered among the relics of Moscow; and a short hour brought us to the barriers. At our first entrance few symptoms were seen of a nature to

correspond with the gloomy appearance which we had been led to expect; but as we advanced, the quarters of the Slabode or fauxbourg, where wood had chiefly been used in building, exhibited destruction in its fullest extent,—for the most part a *campagne rase*: now and then the shell of a house was seen standing in a blank space, or here and there a few brick stoves yet remaining, pointed out the spot where a dwelling once had been. Moving onwards, we crossed the avenues of the boulevards; the trees were in full leaf and beauty, seeming to vary the view only to heighten its melancholy aspect. Leaving this, we passed to the central parts of the town that were constructed with more durable materials, exhibiting occasionally a richness and elegance of exterior that must have equalled, if not surpassed, the architectural magnificence of the most beautiful towns of Europe. All was now in the same forlorn condition; street after street greeted the eye with perpetual ruin; disjointed columns, mutilated porticos, broken cupolas, walls of rugged stucco, black, discoloured with the stains of fire, and open on every side to the sky, formed an hideous contrast with the glowing pictures which travellers had drawn of the grand and sumptuous palaces of Moscow.

The cross lanes looked even at this interval as if unused to hear the sound of human tread: the grass sprung up amidst the mouldering fragments that scattered the pavements; while a low smoke, issuing perhaps from some

obscure cellar corner, gave the only indications of human habitation, and seemed to make desolation 'visible.'

If such were the impressions on a stranger's mind at the present day, how poignant must have been the feelings of citizens who, on the evacuation by the enemy, returned hither to contemplate the wreck of their fortunes and their homes!

They were not nevertheless so much to be pitied as those who were constrained to remain in the town during the reign of the French; witnessing the daily progress of their misfortunes, as well as experiencing in their own persons the bitterest sufferings which want and oppression could inflict. The number was not large; only about 20,000, out of a population of more than 300,000, having been detained by poverty or other causes. Some people will regard the proportion as greater than common expectation would have calculated upon; but it should be recollected that the danger of their situation was for a long time concealed from the citizens; and, flashing upon them as it did, on a sudden, it augmented in a marvellous degree the difficulties of providing the necessary means for flight. The demands for horses, mules, carriages, were exorbitant beyond measure; on the last day, four and even five hundred roubles were offered for horses to the first stage out of Moscow, and repeatedly refused.

Many, also, helpless through bodily infirmity, were constrained, under these circumstances of aggravation, to abide the fury of the storm; and when in this account we

include between 7,000 and 8,000 wounded soldiers of the Russian army, who perished either through want of surgical assistance or were involved in the general conflagration, it is impossible for the most inventive genius to imagine a tale of greater horror.

Another class again was composed of foreign residents, to whom an attempt to depart, unless under protection, would have been at the imminent peril of their lives. The prejudices, ignorance, and rage of the multitude were equally ungovernable: every stranger was with them a Frenchman and a spy; and several were cruelly butchered by the peasants on the road, no farther ground of suspicion appearing than their ignorance of the Russian language.

The hardships undergone by one of the German merchants were related to us as we passed the remains of his former dwelling; it was a small house situated at a short distance from the city: fearing he might here be exposed to the insults of the soldiery, he resolved to seek the shelter of the town, setting out for this purpose the very day on which the French troops entered. He was unable to undertake a journey, and scarce, indeed, could look to an easy accomplishment of this short trip, being himself afflicted with a severe dropsical complaint, his wife far advanced in pregnancy, and burthened moreover with an infant daughter nine months old. The party was joined by the son-in-law and the daughter, who were unwilling to quit their side, and they repaired to the habitation of a friend in the Nikitskaia, where they remained during the

entrance of the troops. On the 3d of September they were assaulted and plundered of whatever articles the military robbers chose to lay their hands upon: after which, seeing their house was threatened by the rapid advance of the flames, they were again forced out of doors. A droschka, that they lighted upon by chance, afforded a mode of conveyance for the sick man, his daughter and son-in-law drawing it by turns: on their route, they were attacked by a second body of plunderers, who stripped them of the greater part of their clothes, and robbed even the child of its swathings: feeling thankful that no farther violence was offered, they pursued their journey till they arrived at a house near the barrier in the Twerskaia, but from hence were again driven on the following day by the flames. They now sallied forth for the third time in quest of an habitation, and, having the good fortune to be accompanied by two French officers, were preserved from insult by their polite attendance. They journeyed near five versts through the smoking ruins of the town, and finding a bathing-house which was entirely deserted, halted, and fixed upon it for their abode. Scarcely had they been settled a fortnight when they were assailed by a new source of danger: the Cossacks, in the course of their inroads to Moscow, paid them a visit, and imagining them, from some circumstances or other, to be a French family, were preparing to put them to death. Some of the party had fortunately concealed themselves, and only the sick man, with his wife and child, appeared: she, having com-

petent knowledge of the Russian language, endeavoured to persuade them of their error; while he, whose imperfect accent would have increased their suspicion, answered their interrogations only by sighs and groans; feigning, though perhaps it was scarcely a counterfeit, that he laboured under pangs of the acutest suffering: the intruders were at last, with much difficulty, appeased, but on their departure left our poor foreigners in such a state of agitation and alarm that they dared not stay another night in this exposed part of the town, and set out on their travels for the fifth time. They now repaired to one of the toll-houses, where three, who alone survived the miseries of their situation, remained till the final evacuation of the city.

There were none of these people but had some peculiar anecdote to relate of their sufferings, and all bore yet in their looks some mark of the privations and anxieties they had undergone. Mr. C—— represented himself to have been seated in his chamber the evening of the arrival of the French; where he heard the bustle of the military undisturbed: at night, however, two dragoons entered suddenly, demanding, with pistols in their hands, whether any Russian soldiers or Cossacks were concealed? He replied that there were not—"If you deceive us," said they, "you die." They went up stairs to search, and presently returned, asking for some brandy and a pair of boots; these were given, and they went their way. Soon afterwards a thick smoke began to make itself perceptible from the upper part of the house, and in a short time the whole burst into a blaze: Mr. C——

was obliged to seek shelter elsewhere at a late hour, and wandered some time in vain, till at length discovering the house of a person in the Slabode with whom he had some slight acquaintance, he knocked, and requested a lodging; this was soon granted: the favour was not indeed confined to himself, for he found the whole establishment converted into a place of general refuge, containing upwards of an hundred wretched persons littered down in the several rooms and out-houses. It was hardly to be expected they should enjoy the sleep of this night unmolested, and they were visited successively by four several parties of marauders, of whom it can be only said that the first left nothing for their successors to deprive them of. Alarmed by the continual reports of assassination in the streets, he told us he never quitted the house except once during the six weeks of his abode, and then he had cause to repent of his temerity, being insulted by some of the soldiers, robbed of his coat, and congratulating himself to have escaped with his life. Some time afterwards a few French officers, as quarters began to grow scarce, came and billetted themselves in the house, where they were received as welcome guests, since their presence afforded hope of protection. This increase of company, however, added to their difficulties in some sort, and filled them with fears lest they should be unable to find subsistence enough for so large a party. Meat, which had been abundant during the first week, was not now to be had: they doled out day by day to each, a small allowance of flour from the household store, which

they kneaded into paste and baked themselves over their fires. This supply began at last to fail, without the possibility of its being replenished from any quarter: for the peasants who had ventured to market being beaten and robbed of their provisions, carts, and their horses; had ceased their visits. Feeling themselves deprived, therefore, of every other resource, they were driven to forage, accompanied by the French soldiers, in the gardens of the neighbourhood, digging for potatoes and roots, or whatever they could find: yet even this was precarious, and their work often interrupted by the incursions of the Cossacks. In a half-starved condition, without a single change of clothes or linen, this gentleman passed the greater part of the time the French stayed at Moscow: but, pursued by more than an ordinary malignity of fate, his sufferings were not brought to a conclusion at their departure. The excellent character which he bore, had led the French governor to solicit his acceptance of a temporary appointment in the provisional municipality; he was urged on the score of putting him in a way to assist his fellow citizens, and, preferring the calls of duty to a consideration of the consequences to which it would expose him, unfortunately yielded to the request. On the return of the Russian police, no argument that he could urge was held a sufficient plea for such conduct: it was necessary, in compliance with the feelings of the times, that the utmost abhorrence should be shewn against every person who bore the slightest mark of connexion with the

enemy, and to have merited their confidence was the highest crime. For this he was condemned by the unanimous voice of his tribunal; and the punishment awarded was, that he should be obliged to labour half an hour (pro forma) on the public works, with a badge of infamy affixed to his arm; after which exposure he was thrown into prison for three months, and ever more forbidden to quit the city of Moscow on any pretence.

This story, nevertheless, presents but an imperfect epitome of scenes of distress, that varied with every distinction of age or sex. The females were of course no less subjected to the miseries of so calamitous a period; Madame —— related to us her tale of woe. Feeling, as was natural, great alarm on hearing of the arrival of the French, she had retired to an open space of ground near one of the churches, whither a number of the inhabitants had fled from similar motives. The party waited here near an hour without seeing any one, when a troop of cavalry came up and asked (it was the ordinary inquiry) whether any Russian soldiers were concealed amongst them? "No," answered the women, covering up with their cloaks a poor wounded man who lay half dead upon the ground. The French said they were content, and, with much appearance of politeness, demanded next if they stood in need of any thing which it was in their power to procure: they received a second answer in the negative, and passed on. Presently one of them returned with a bottle of brandy in his hand, and kindly offered them to drink: after this, as

night came on, the whole group dispersed to seek for shelter where occasion might serve. The lady, with her husband and daughter, retired to an empty house, and remained there for two days, not daring to stir out of doors: when, being almost famished, the husband was obliged to go abroad with the hope of procuring provisions. In crossing the street he stopped, either from curiosity or other trivial motive, and picked up a rocket-case which was lying on the ground, with the appearance of having been used in the conflagration: seeing, however, that he was observed by two French soldiers, he put it away in his pocket somewhat perhaps in a hurried manner: they at the instant came up, and demanded, in a threatening tone, to see what it was he had concealed. On being shewn, one of them accused him as an incendiary, and without farther parley took a step back, levelled his musket, and shot him through the heart. His daughter beheld this scene from the window with such feelings as may be well imagined, and the wife ran up but to behold him weltering in his blood. At this juncture they were discovered by a French officer, who happened to pass that way; he took pity on them and removed them to the palace of Count A. Rasumofski, then the residence of King Murat, where they remained till the evacuation. His majesty had been driven by the irreverent flames to this hotel, in which, much to his credit, (be it said) he opened an asylum for the poor sufferers, and afforded them every means of relief that was in his power. Circumstances, however, did not admit of the enjoyment of

much comfort: a large assembly of both sexes was crowded into one apartment, where the companionship in misfortune served rather to increase than relieve their pains. It is distressful to delicacy to relate, that in this very room a woman of good condition in life was actually delivered of a child, her female friends standing around, and endeavouring with their handkerchiefs and clothes to skreen her as far as they were able from public sight.

Mr. B—— was another resident at Moscow during this dreadful period; but, more favoured by accident, he lived at an inn near the Twerskoi in the society of several French officers, from whom he received much kindness and attention. His account furnishes an idea of the want of discipline, or, as it is termed, demoralisation, that prevailed in the ranks of the army. He had one morning, he says, ventured out in the street imprudently alone, when he was met by two Poles, who attempted, on some pretence or other, to decoy him into a private lane; he refused to accompany them, and as they added menaces to entreaties, he took to flight; the street, however, was empty, so they pursued him, and he was on the point of being overtaken, but fortunately turning a corner, he stumbled on a French officer, to whom he lost no time in applying for protection. The officer complied, enquired into his story, and very severely reprimanded the Poles, striking them repeatedly with his sabre; they answered him, nevertheless, impudently enough, asserting that leave was given to plunder, and that they had a right to do so: he told them that the per-

mission had been revoked at the end of the first week, but as he had no actual accusation to bring forward, he dismissed them, and kindly promised Mr. B—— to accompany him to his lodgings. On the way they met a French soldier carrying a bundle that bore a suspicious appearance. He stopped him, and insisted on its being opened, when several watches, rings, &c. and other articles of plunder, were exposed to view.—"Scoundrel!" said he, in amazement, "is it not disgraceful enough for a Russian to com-"mit acts of thievery, but must a Frenchman also turn "rogue, and bring dishonour on his nation? Are you not "a soldier of the grand army?" So saying, he gave him a blow on the cheek with his sword, which he then coolly wiped and returned into the scabbard; and drawing an order for the man upon the hospital for his cure, resumed his conversation with our friend.

It is not at all surprising that the *grand army*, on finding their situation here so different from their expectation, should have been driven by their discontent to acts of irregularity and disobedience. Repose in a great capital was the lure constantly held out before their eyes, to cheer their long and toilsome march to Russia. They arrived foot-sore, with shoes and clothes worn out, and destitute of every thing but the mere *materiel* of war. Moscow in its deserted state afforded them scarce the necessaries of life; while new labours and hardships were substituted for the ease and enjoyment to which they had looked forward. Thus disappointed, they next placed their hopes in the arrival of

their heavy baggage, which was moving up on the road from Smolensko; but the Cossacks broke in upon their line of communications and plundered the whole. A Frenchman, however, is always loth to despair; still another expectation was held out,—peace was promised them; they confided in this idea, and peace might restore them to the enjoyment of every comfort which their toils entitled them to. Alas! even this prospect, after a time, was found delusory and vain. The crafty Kutusow baffled every endeavour to obtain the wished-for end, and defeated each attempt of Buonaparte to work upon the feelings of the emperor. Various were the pretences for delay; one while he bantered him by refusing to forward the dispatches to his master, because the form of direction was incomplete—the Emperor of Russia, instead of all the Russias: another time he sent a dispatch to Petersburg feigning the greatest alarm, and asserting the utter impossibility of attempting to contend against the invincible legions of their opponents; the courier was ordered to keep a certain route, which necessarily threw him into the hands of the French; while, on the same day, a true account of what had been prepared, and of the hopes consequently entertained, was conveyed to the emperor by a more secure road; both these schemes succeeded.

During this interval the country around was rising to arms in every direction; the rustics were formed into regular bodies, standing constantly on the defensive, while the more vigorous warfare of the Cossacks harassed the

enemy by frequent incursions into their very quarters; in short, from these circumstances, the duties that were necessarily imposed on the French forces, called forth the same perpetual watchfulness and exertion which had fallen to their lot during the former part of the campaign. No one dared to venture out of the city, unless under the protection of an escort; and the foraging parties were obliged to be attended with strong detachments of infantry and artillery, resembling rather a division of the army equipped for the field, than troops sent on a temporary excursion.

Thus dispirited by fatigue, and daily subjected to fresh proofs of the growing insecurity of their situation, conversations of a seditious nature were excited, and loud murmurs manifested themselves against the author of their misfortunes; so high were their feelings carried, that they were not concealed from the throne, and Buonaparte scarcely was seen to venture in the streets, some say twice only during his stay at Moscow, and then he rode at full speed. The general state of insubordination was little short of open mutiny; many of the officers declared, that during the worst times of the revolutionary armies, they never had witnessed so shameless and daring a spirit of resistance. The common men not only thought themselves equal to their officers, but even frequently defied their authority; and many instances occurred where the commanders were robbed of their money or their horses by the rapacity of their own soldiers: plunder was the universal cry. Buonaparte's proclamation of prohibition was disregarded:

"*Je me —— de lui et de sa proclamation.*" His name seemed to have lost its value, for his word was no longer infallible. Churchyards were disturbed, cellars ransacked and destroyed, kettles of water poured on the ground or the walls to discover where they had been newly broken, and every plan of refined ingenuity which had been resorted to in the early days of the French republic was practised here. It is said, indeed, that the soldiers invented a new and simple process for extracting the most valuable and essential articles which an house might contain. They threw their lighted matches and other combustibles through the windows, and then, making fast the back-doors, seated themselves quietly in front, waiting till the unhappy proprietor should come out prepared for flight, carrying in his hands whatever moveable articles he held of most value; they then pounced upon him and relieved him of his burden. Many a house, no doubt, in the course of pillage was set on fire by the wantonness of the French; but with regard to what has been advanced before, relative to this subject, it must be evident that if we allow the utmost to the barbarous activity of the plunderers, yet very little could have been effected in four days, when compared with the immense mass of ruin that presented itself in every part of the city.

Considerable magazines of flour and brandy which had been laid in for the use of the Russians, were discovered during the third week, but so insufficient was the discipline of the army, that the whole was dispersed and laid waste before the commissariat could take the necessary steps to

secure it for the public use. This state of disorganisation is natural to a French army when overtaken by a reverse of fortune, but the troops of their foreign allies were generally said to indulge in still greater excesses than the French themselves, and the Poles in particular appeared to gratify a feeling of retaliation in every act of licence which they committed. It is but fair to add to this account, that the allies were infinitely worse provided, in every respect, than the French, and their conduct therefore admits of some palliation. Of the latter, the imperial guards, whose orderly behaviour was held out as an example worthy of imitation to the rest of the forces, were so well taken care of, that they were placed beyond the immediate reach of want, and deserved but little encomium for their observance of a certain degree of regularity. Many other instances of similar partiality might be quoted, for it formed a part of the system.

But this is a digression that may be said to relate to what we heard, rather than what we actually saw during our stay: it will be well to recur to our former subject, and essay a short description of the town of Moscow.

A general idea may easily be formed, since there are, perhaps, few towns whose quarters present a more simple plan of distribution: the ancient Kremlin and Kitaigorod are situated on a central eminence above the river Moskwa; and around these, as a nucleus, the circles of the Belgorod, the Semlianigorod, and the Slabode or Fauxbourg, are

severally discernible, marking by their lines the growth of the place in successive æras.

The Kitaigorod, or Tartar town, besides some religious buildings, contains within its walls the public exchange and the chief houses of trade. All these had been completely gutted by the fire, but the spirit of the place still remained; shops and stalls, and tents of every denomination, were erected amidst the ruins; and the chief street was, even now, the theatre of much bustle and activity.

The Kremlin contains the public offices and apartments of state, and hither we made a daily visit, as to a point that afforded the only specimen of the ancient magnificence of the capital of the grand dukes and the czars. It stood uninjured amidst the times of the conflagration, but the barbarous fury of Buonaparte attacked whatever Russian piety had spared, and with unutterable malignity he marked out for devastation some of the fairest portions of this proud citadel. The most peremptory orders were given to the detachment occupying the Kremlin after his departure; the mines were prepared, and at two o'clock on the last night of their stay this horrid purpose was carried into execution. By the two first explosions part of the walls and one of the towers towards the river were destroyed: by the third, the church of St. Nicholas and the four great bells of Moscow were blown up with tremendous violence; at the same moment the lofty tower of Ivan Veliki, the first of the Czars, was rent from the top to its base, and the

cross of the cupola, crowning its summit, buried in the ruin below. The fourth shock was by far the most dreadful; the walls of the arsenal, which were upwards of three yards in thickness, with a part of the gate of St. Nicholas and several adjacent pinnacles, were at once blown into the air, a concussion succeeding that shook the whole city to its foundations.

When the spot was visited by the people on the following day, it was not without much awe they seemed to tread this ground, almost dreading to look on the ruinous chasm that was yet smoking. The impression of fear, however, is easily transferred by the mind from one source to another, and the superstitious Russian soon discovered that divine agents had been at work as well as human. Day after day these gates seemed to attract the gaze of the multitude; for the first week or fortnight hundreds of peasants were seen perpetually collected, crossing themselves, and bowing to the ground in the most fervent adoration. It was some time before a stranger could discover their object, but it appeared that a marvellous interposition of St. Nicholas had preserved the glass which was placed before his picture from being injured by the explosion, although it took place within the distance of a few yards, while it was notorious that many windows in the most distant parts of the Fauxbourg had suffered from its effects. Part of the wall to which it was attached, it is true, was at the same time thrown down, so that the concurrence of these circumstances might well excite astonishment. The

tutelary saint of Russia had certainly never wrought a greater miracle; his fame increased daily, and even at this interval of time, the picture was the object of constant devotion with the mob.

Profane persons might attempt an explanation of the phenomenon in a different way: it was observable that the centre of explosion was somewhat removed behind the building on which the picture stood, so it was completely sheltered from the scattering of the stones and other materials, which in these cases are generally the occasion of the greatest havoc. In the next place, it is probable that the strength of the glass was able to withstand the pressure arising from the expansion of the small quantity of air confined behind, in spite of the great rarefaction that had taken place without. We may find upon enquiry that much greater miracles have sometimes been witnessed at the blowing up of an ordinary powder-mill in England.

The imperial palace, which stands on a point commanding the whole town, was the residence, as before stated, of Buonaparte: but even these walls, that had been his abode, were given to destruction by his orders, and now shewed themselves in the most forlorn condition, stripped of every article, and completely gutted from top to bottom. The same scene of waste was exhibited in an interesting antique edifice, containing the chamber of the throne. As the public hall of audience at the coronation of the czars*

* The title czar was only borne by two sovereigns of Russia; the word is a Sclavonic translation of the Tartar khan or king: in the Old Testament it con-

CHAMBER of the THRONE, MOSCOW.

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and emperors, it had been often made the scene of festivities in this most pompous and splendid court. But now not a vestige of ancient ornament could be traced; the activity of devastation had been great, and scarce a beam or a stone rested one on the other.

The other parts of the Kremlin remained untouched, and it was impossible to conceive a more imposing spectacle. An high terrace overhung the walls towards the river, at the extremity of which, to the left, appeared the fantastical structure of the Trinity church and the awe-commanding portals of the Holy Gate, through which every passenger walks bare-headed. At the other end was a cluster of domes rising from the church of St. Nicholas, that of the Assumption, and the chapel and palace of the Czars; with the lofty steeple of Ivan Veliki towering far above them all, and reflecting the beams of the sun from a globe of gold.

The palace of the Czars does not boast an antiquity of more than two hundred years, but it is an edifice raised with princely costliness in the Hindu fashion, and marked with every peculiarity of massive squareness in the carve-work with which that style abounds.

This was one of the most shewy examples of the gorgeous architecture of the Kremlin: though the whole circle offered an assemblage of bright gay colours, and a display of gaud and richness that vied with "the wealth of Ormus "and of Ind." The cupolas and roofs were gilt or stained

stantly occurs in this sense. The czar Solomon or czar David being the ordinary terms used.

green or red, the walls and towers covered with glazed tiles of blue, and white, and yellow, in other parts adorned with storied paintings from holy writ, while a *melange* was seen on every side of pear-shaped domes, Tartar battlements, Gothic tracery, Grecian columns, the star, the crescent, and the cross. Looking below appeared the stream of the Moskwa, winding its course amidst the streets and houses of the town, all indeed now in ruin, but still interspersed with many a glittering steeple, with cottage, garden, and palace intermixed, and offering to view the eternal variety of a Russian city. This scene was backed by an extensive landscape of the country on the west, dotted with country houses and monasteries, and surmounted by the long gloomy line of the Sparrow Hills, over which the French army first shewed themselves before the work of abomination was begun. If we looked to the ground on which we stood, it was strewed with the relics of the church of St. Nicholas: the great bells that were its chief boast (one of which weighed more than 200,000 lb.) laid scattered in different directions, as they chanced to have fallen at the time of explosion; and of the celebrated bell, cast by the Empress Anne, nothing was discoverable but the ring of the top, so deep was it buried in rubbish. In other parts remnants of military stores of various descriptions met the eye; and at a little distance, in front of the arsenal, were ranged the 1,100 pieces of artillery which the French lost during their campaign in Russia. These formed an heterogeneous collection,

being trophies from the several nations whose mark they bore; Italy, Holland, Austria, Prussia, Poland, Saxony, Spain, &c. To add to the endless confusion were others that carried the names not only of the ancient kings of France, but of the heroes and princes of the revolution, and of the fields of their glory: with these again cant terms of empty sentimentalities, that once domineered in that country over men and things. Here Louis and Napoleon, there Essling and Marengo, on another side le Tage and le Danube, or, with still worse appropriation to its subject, *la vertù, l'egalité, la liberté;* high sounding words that served only to swell the pride of the Russian triumph; in themselves of as little force as the now mute and powerless engines of destruction on which they were inscribed.

Having incidentally mentioned the splendour of a Russian coronation, perhaps a few particulars relating to that solemnity may not be deemed unacceptable. A great deal of the barbaric magnificence of their ancient court is still preserved, and the coronation of the Emperor Alexander was conducted in a style of national pageantry, of which other courts of Europe have but little conception. The procession was composed of the several chief functionaries of state, of all the constituted authorities from the different provincial governments, the first military and naval officers, nobility, &c. in their robes and uniforms: they extended many a verst in length, and continued to defile on the day of entrance, through the city gates, from seven in

the forenoon, without intermission, till nine at night. On the following morning the company were ranged in benches step above step, forming a circle about the tower of Ivan. The emperor, with the chief officers, paraded three times round the esplanade, and made a pious visitation to the four churches in succession, bowing to the shrines and kissing the holy relics. To this succeeded a time of festival, when the nobles and the merchants, on two successive days, were regaled in the chamber of the throne; and on the third a grand entertainment was given to the peasantry, upwards of 30,000 persons partaking of the imperial hospitality. Long tables were spread, and amply furnished with provision of every description, while fountains of beer, of brandy, and of wine, displayed in profusion the joyous sources of inebriation. The ancient custom at these fêtes was also complied with: and an huge pyramid of roasted meat was raised, surmounted at the top by an ox with gilded horns. On a signal being given the populace rushed forward to scramble for the contents of this pile, and a prize of an hundred roubles was the reward of the happy mougik who succeeded in gaining possession of the summit. Various other exhibitions of this nature took place; but even these contentious scenes bred little riot: the order of the day *(à la russe)* was preserved most pertinaciously: if any symptoms of rage between two parties exhibited themselves, the water engine was at hand, with whose full and cooling stream the police never failed to assuage the feel-

ings of the mettlesome slave. The usual ceremonies, presentations, grand military reviews, and fêtes succeeded, and all in a proportionate scale of grandeur.

3d July.—On this day we took advantage of an invitation from Prince ——, and made a visit to his palace as well as to that of another seigneur in the neighbourhood. Our arrival at the latter was unexpected, and we met with a most splendid reception, though all which we saw was in the ordinary course of Russian hospitality. It was unaided by any temporary parade, or by what some persons so often lay to the charge of this generous people, the wish to make an ostentatious display before strangers.

The gardens were laid out with much taste in the English fashion, and included a winter palace as well as an elegant *pavillon d' été*, where our host was now residing. As it was Sunday evening, the place was given up to the public, and a large company from Moscow and the neighbourhood were amusing themselves, parading in the walks and shrubberies, or taking the diversion of exercise on the water. At six o'clock the theatre was thrown open, and the various groups of company were all seen bending their steps towards the door; a few minutes afterwards a servant entered the saloon where we were assembled, and announced that the actors were prepared, and only waited the appearance of their lord. On entering we found the house already crowded, two rows only reserved in front for private friends, the rest of the seats entirely occupied by the promiscuous parties of holiday visitors.

The piece was a Russian comedy, and appeared, as far as one could judge, to be extremely well acted. After the spectacle we returned to the saloon and partook of refreshments, while our ears were saluted with a concert of Russian music, from a full band of well practised performers. The songs were both conceived and executed with all the wildness of the national taste, varied and abrupt: one of them, lately composed in honour of Miloradovitch, was peculiarly striking, and perhaps excelled, in loftiness and grandeur of style, by none of the finished melodies of more fashionable masters.

At night we sat down to a sumptuous repast, with every variety of wine from Burgundy and la Fitte to the wormwood-flavoured juices of Moldavia: nor were we permitted to leave the hospitable mansion till a very late hour.

The large domestic establishment of slaves which this nobleman kept, amounting to about four hundred, easily furnished the means for these several diversions. He apologised, however, to us, and without affectation, for not having received us in a more magnificent way, complaining that his losses in the late campaign had been very severe. His house at Moscow had been burnt, with all its furniture, and he had lost besides a vast number of his peasants. Some of these, whom he much regretted, had in a great degree crippled his means of entertainment; the *cornes de chasse*, and *corps du ballet*, had been entirely broken up, and some of his best actors, as well as most accomplished musicians, sacrificed to the exigencies of the war.

To give a fair idea of an household like this, it should be observed that these slaves are not maintained distinctly and solely for their separate avocations. Education, notwithstanding their natural aptitude for every employment, is from its nature attended with considerable expense. Each one, therefore, who has the advantage of being well brought up, is prepared to fulfil three or four several functions, however incompatible they may seem. The house surgeon, a first-rate comedian, an admirable performer on the violin, officiated also as his master's principal valet de chambre; and I was surprised to see the "gay Lothario," who had likewise distinguished himself in the concert, standing behind my chair at supper.

The whole establishment bore, in their gay and easy looks, the marks of the generous disposition of the seigneur, who was represented by all to be remarkable for his frankness, openness and humanity. An instance occurred during the late times, which sufficiently put to test the attachment of these poor creatures: he had divided all his plate into small lots, and doled it out to them as they dispersed on the approach of the French army; to one he gave a chandelier, to another a tureen, to another plates and spoons, &c. with orders that they should place them in concealment. In October, when he appeared again amongst them, he required an account of the articles so disposed, and not one was found to be missing.

Nor was this all. This poor people, upon his first taking to flight, shewed their gratitude to him by their care of his

favourite female slave. She was well provided by them with every requisite; and when they understood that he was settled in a comfortable retreat, they furnished her, of their own accord, with money and horses to follow him. He seemed to pride himself much in these traits of good feeling, as well he might; no doubt they are not very common, but probably are as often seen on the part of the slave as generosity and kindness are to be met with on the side of the master.

This description of household is by no means considered as large; five or six hundred slaves are kept in many of the great palaces at Moscow, and in the country residences, as has been before remarked. They live huddled together in a miserable state, without beds (which indeed are not required by a Russian) and destitute of all that we should style comfortable. But it is through their means that the wealthy seigneur, besides providing the amusements of theatrical entertainments and concerts at home, besides exhibiting an antichamber constantly filled with menials, and a dinner table open to all his friends, is able to give to the world more durable testimonies of his wealth. The number of hands consigned to any employment (though at this moment the supply is diminished) is almost incredible, but may be surmised by the labours that are sometimes witnessed. Count Apraxin had lost his palace at Moscow in the late conflagration; nothing dispirited, however, at the misfortune, "That stately edifice," said he, "was built in twenty-two successive years; it was destroyed

in as many hours, and yet before twenty-two months are expired shall be renewed in the same state as before." It was done, and we saw his new building, with all its domes and porticoes, completely finished, at this moment the actual residence of a population of between 400 and 500 souls.

This rapid power of creation is truly consonant with the Russian taste: when the King and Queen of Prussia paid a visit to Petersburg, a suite of fourteen apartments, with the carving, gilding, painting, and different elaborate decorations, were prepared at a short notice of fourteen days; and which is still more extraordinary, the gigantic pile of the Mikhail Palace, the residence of the Emperor Paul at Petersburg, was planned, built, and inhabited within the short space of three years.

A certain northern sceptic, with whom every thing that exceeded the ordinary limits of ocular demonstration was alike "majus fide," would perhaps have been induced, on the inspection of one of the curious establishments of seignoralty in this country, to acknowledge that the reported estimate of the population of Athens was by no means rendered impossible by the small size of the town; where accommodation more than enough might doubtless have been found. And in reference to the magnitude of their architectural monuments, which has been insisted upon by an ingenious writer as affording matter of argument in support of the alleged number of the people, these specimens of Russian grandeur may also be quoted.

On the 26th of June the heat was oppressive, the mer-

cury standing at 22° (Reaumur) in the shade*. As the fineness of the evening, however, was expected to be unusually attractive, we strolled down to the boulevards, where we saw numerous singular and interesting groups of people. Infinite was the variety of national costume. The Russian tradesman, in his blue caftan, promenading with his wife, in her head-dress of pearls, and plaited tippet of crimson velvet and gold; the Greek in his gown of silk, blue or red; the Persian, in his peaked cap, his vest of flowered cotton, and flowing robe; the Boukharian merchant, the Kasan Tartar, the Mongoul, with their appropriate ornaments; and the stately unbending Turk, stepping the walk with grave and dignified air, a type of the only people in the world with whom a smile does not seem to pass for current. But the Sunday butterfly, dressed in the last arrived fashion from England, patent white boot-tops, long breeches below his calf, and waist below his middle, *bore the bell*, and carried away all the admiration of the company.

We had little expected, from the deserted appearance of the streets, to see so large a concourse of people in these walks, but were told it was a thin attendance in comparison with the exhibitions of former years. It was certain that the lucrative nature of the trade from the east had already brought back a considerable number of the previous residents, commerce was daily increasing in activity, and

* The cold is generally more severe in the winter at Moscow than at Petersburg, from its inland situation; in January 1814, the mercury of the thermometer stood at 40° of Reaumur.

the promenaders were mostly persons engaged in that line.

Of all the different branches, that which was carried on by the Boukharian merchants seemed to be one of the most gainful; it consisted chiefly in exchange; cloth, leather, indigo, small iron ware, &c. being given for cotton, stuffs, and vests, lambskins, dried fruits, saltpetre, tourquoises*, lapis lazuli, and other precious stones; the shawls also of Cashmir, some at a value of not less than 5,000 or 6,000 roubles, are frequently imported by the same persons for sale. Nor is it to Moscow alone that they resort; numberless Boukharian caravans arrive annually by the Volga, to attend the fair at Makarief, in July, which is the first established mart of these parts; upwards of 100,000 persons indeed are said regularly to assemble there for the transaction of business.

The people of the country, the objects of this intercourse, are a quiet industrious race of Tartars, living under an independent khan, that holds his court at Boukhara, a city not far distant from Samarcand. The tract lying between this state and the Russian frontier presents the most serious obstacles to a direct trade, being unprovided with water, and besides much infested by the wandering piratical tribe of the Kirgisses. Though the caravans are large, and con-

* This mineral is found at Nikapour, three days journey from Mecshit; it is brought over in small pieces, packed in sacks. I have seen one of these specimens with the matrix attached; it was a red ferrugineous argillaceous earth, bearing the appearance of stratification.

tain from 200 to 900 camels, they are frequently attacked by these lawless freebooters, the only alternative being to purchase their protection, which must be done at a dear rate before they set out.

The armed bodies of the latter people are exceeding strong; so much so, that the Russian engineers who were sent attended by a squadron of cavalry and two pieces of artillery, to survey the country, some years since, were actually driven back before they reached the shores of lake Aral.

The imperial government has long turned an eye to these quarters; and in the present reign, an offer of a constant escort of 1,000 men was made to any company of merchants that were willing to embark a capital of 1,000,000 roubles, in a scheme for opening a direct trade with Boukharia. No one, however, thought it advisable to close with the proposal.

Besides the ordinary course of trade, curious fields of speculation are open to adventurers in the eastern parts. One merchant speculates upon the discovery of jewels, deposited in flight or hoarded through fear, during the various revolutions that have desolated Persia and the neighbouring dominions. Another buys up emeralds and coral for the Usbek Tartars, who, from custom immemorial, are in the practice of ornamenting the eyes and forehead of the dead with these valuable articles. Another told me he had made a profitable journey with a cargo of wool from Cashmir: making his way by the route of Palatinsk, across

a great portion of the desert; where he passed several days trusting to the guidance of two honest Usbek Tartars, who served him throughout for the moderate wages of one ducat each.

The sum specified may seem extraordinary, but commerce has given the same notoriety to the Dutch ducat in these remote provinces of Asia, which it has so long borne in every kingdom of Europe. The French Napoleon, he told us, though the gold was excellent, passed generally for something short of its real value, being the specimen of a currency whose stamp was not yet sufficiently known as to have acquired the same credit with that of an older coinage. He had heard, however, the name of Buonaparte mentioned even in the wilds of Tartary, and had seen in the course of the journey an history of his life, containing a pompous account of his successful enterprises and actions, down to the marriage with Maria Louisa, in 1810. It was composed in Arabic, a language which is there familiar to every person of education, and having been printed at Paris, several hundred copies were sent to Aleppo, and distributed for circulation. Whether this was merely with a view to propagate the glory of his name, or intended to assist some future plan of conquest in the East, was not manifest. We have heard of no undertaking of this nature since the days of the Emperor Paul, who, in one of his paroxysms of frenzy, ordered several hordes of Cossacks to set out on a march that was to lead by the line of the Aral, towards the confines of Hindostan. Each successive

body was to fill the place of the preceding one, "velut "unda supervenit undam," as they might have perished in the desert or by the hands of their opponents; and thus it was hoped the object might finally be attained. The wild scheme was afterwards for some reason, no doubt as good as that which first gave it birth, most happily relinquished.

Looking to the traffic of Moscow, the late ukase of the Emperor Alexander, which forbids any foreigners, unless naturalised, to establish themselves in business there, is unfortunate in its application to the present time, when encouragement should be given to settlers on almost any terms: otherwise, no doubt can be entertained of the general expediency of such a decree, in an empire where foreign agency has been so widely diffused. Several regulations with this view have been promulgated at Petersburg, though the government could not venture to carry into execution the step adopted at Moscow.*

On another day we made a short excursion to the Devitchi nunnery, once the place of confinement of Sophia,

* In the year 1810, a new tax was ordered to be levied on the foreign tradesmen at Petersburg who were not naturalised; 100 roubles was the sum demanded from every master, and 40 from each journeyman. The ukase stated it to be the intention of government that the rich should pay for the poor, in order *to avoid oppression on any class.* The foreigners were assembled by order of the police, locked in a room together, a guard mounted over them, and commanded to select twelve men who should be responsible for the rest. This was done, but the tax was afterwards remitted. The object of the measure was to force them to enter into the established companies of trade.

the sister of Peter I. The court was open to the public; no envious grate opposed our entrance, but we surveyed at leisure every part of the melancholy establishment. The black caps, and habits of the devotees, appearing through the gloom of a Russian church, gave a most impressive solemnity to their vespers, which was still heightened by the plaintive tone of the female voices, joining in the chant; for they officiated themselves during a part of the service, priests being only in attendance at the sanctuary door, which it is never permitted to a woman to pass: on the whole, we were much delighted with our visit.

These religious edifices, which, during the disorderly time of the reigns of the grand dukes, were all built and provided as fortresses, might be even now considered strong holds in a military view. But added to this consideration, the angle formed by the river, towards the great western road, immediately under the Sparrow hills, rendered the nunnery a post highly necessary to be occupied by the French. A detachment of near 4000 men were accordingly placed in garrison, to watch the passage, and prevent the Russians from establishing themselves in that quarter.

The officers of this division were represented to have behaved extremely well; they professed to acknowledge the same God as their female hostesses, and crossed themselves before the painted images with a specious shew of devotion. In short, they gave such general satisfaction by their conduct, that when Davoust offered to replace half of his men

with an equal number of wounded Russians, the goodly Igoumena, or abbess, declined without ceremony the proffered exchange. Lest any suspicion should arise that might bear hard upon her character or that of her companions, it is but justice at the conclusion of the story to add, that the nuns seemed, to us at least, neither young nor handsome.

Another evening took us to the monasteries lying on the Moskwa below the town, which are all remarkable for the beauty of their situations: they were mostly buildings like that of St. A. Newski at Petersburg, with patch-work walls of red and white, and, one only excepted, seemed of no great antiquity.

In making these various excursions, it was lamentable to behold, in whatever direction we passed, similar scenes of wreck and havoc were constantly before us. It is not difficult to picture to one's mind the appearance of an ordinary town reduced to a state of ruin; but to traverse a place of 35 versts in circumference, and find every where the same features, was a display of horror that far exceeds the utmost limits of fancy. The citizens had been diligent in repairs, it is true, though little, indeed, could the labour of two years produce in a city of such dimensions. The few habitations that were renewed shewed but as spots in the wide waste, and seemed scarce to diversify this universal scene of desolation.

Of the whole original extent, the more distant parts of the Slabode alone, with a few streets of the Belgorod on

the north, had escaped. The former from the circumstance of the dwellings being so loosely dispersed; the latter owing to the exertions of the new imperial guard, who saved the houses in which they were quartered, nor was it probably less indebted to the presence of the governor Mortier, who occupied the private house of Rastopchin. The annexed plan will furnish an idea of the extent of the mischief, the parts of the town which were consumed being shaded black. It appears by the official returns, that before the fire the wooden houses amounted in number to 6591, and those built of stone or brick to 2567; of the former, when the French evacuated the town, only 2100 were remaining, and of the latter 526.

With regard to the funds for purposes of rebuilding, we must observe, that the losses of the nobility were, generally speaking, too extensive to admit of their bestowing any thoughts on this subject for the present.

The Princess D. whom I mention rather for the sake of more credible authority than as furnishing an example of misfortune greater than ordinary, estimated her losses at 2095 slaves, besides an amount in houses, furniture, cattle, &c. of 2,000,000 roubles. Under these circumstances, when not only the direct privation is to be taken into account, but also the diminution of the sources of profit, it cannot be expected that many of the palaces at Moscow should be yet restored. The mansions of Count Apraxin and Monsieur Batachov alone formed an exception: the rest, those of Pashkov, Menzikov, Pushkin, Troubetskoi, Scheremetov, Dashkov, Orlov, Dolgorucki, Panin, Kasselov, Besborodko, Durassov, Soltigov, Gagarin, with many others, lay in the same neglected and forlorn condition. The ranks of society were thinned in proportion, and at the promenade on the 1st of May, instead of 5000 carriages being seen in the train as heretofore, only 1500, including those of many country residents, were mustered.

Among the lower classes, several of the little retail shopkeepers and the owners of inns, &c. had rebuilt their houses in those situations where a ready and quick return of money might warrant the speculation, for it was accomplished at a heavy expense.* The hotel of the German *tractir*, as he

* Day labour was at two roubles, and the price of bricks had risen at this time from 15 roubles to 45. A subscription was made at Petersburg

L.T. James del.t

I. Clark sculp.t

BESBORODKO PALACE, SLABODE, MOSCOW.

is called, in which we lodged, was of this description; it stood almost single in a ruinous street, and the marks of the fire were still visible over the windows and doors, as well as various other parts of the walls. The total amount of the numbers refitted were in wood 1480, in stone 1312.

It may be asked by some persons what was the effect of the subscriptions which English liberality had afforded in relief of these cases of distress. I am sorry to say that it was not in the nature of things that much could be effected by a measure of this sort; it was some time, indeed, before the Russian government prevailed upon themselves to accept this generous mark of consideration. But it must be recollected that the class of persons to whom we would in such cases give assistance in England, under the denomination of "poor sufferers," have in this country no existence; they are all slaves, and can possess nothing legally of their own. The money sent out therefore was to be distributed in grants to such of the seigneurs as chose to avail themselves of the offer. In this way, perhaps, it answered its purpose, however indirectly, since it might relieve their peasants from the immediate call for money, which they would otherwise have experienced. If such an arrangement was not according to the wishes of the liberal contributors to the subscription, it is a painful task to record the failure of their well meant benevolence.

for the relief of the fugitives from Moscow. The town was divided into 12 districts, over each of which a lady presided to give aid to any who might be found there.

The number of inhabitants resident at Moscow, while the heat of the summer months admitted them to bivouac in the streets or in the ruined houses, amounted to about 170,000; but this vast accession was only temporary, and did not in reality amount to much more than half the number which the city was estimated to contain before the war.

The existing appearances afforded, no doubt, very insufficient memorials of the real calamities which had been inflicted on this people by the ambition of France. To see so many unoffending souls deprived at once of every thing they had in the world, was a sight too much for a heart of the sternest mould to regard unmoved. Murat, as was before stated, and Mortier, had each opened a large asylum in their respective houses; but, which is still more a matter of astonishment, Napoleon himself was melted to pity, and, though in direct opposition to his former conduct, seemed desirous of alleviating their state of misery. Human nature, it is true, is not at all times consistent in herself; our frail habits are as incapable of accomplishing perfection in one character as in another; and the villain shews occasional feelings of remorse as the good man his vicious weaknesses.

We may suppose that prudential motives entered largely into his calculations; but, nevertheless, it was certainly owing to his orders that the permission to pillage was formally recalled at the end of the first week; that the governor, Mortier, was charged to organise a provisional municipality

from among the citizens; that syndics were named to report on the number of the poor and destitute; that rations were promised to them; that the French surgeons were ordered to attend the sick of both nations without distinction; and that Monsieur Toutolmin was required to draw up a report* of the present state of the Foundling-hospital (for it had escaped the flames) specifying the means it afforded of giving assistance.

These steps were not altogether without effect, though the new municipality met with a thousand difficulties in the execution of their office; though neither civil nor military authorities seemed respected; though the promised rations† could not be furnished for the poor; and though the hospitals were reported to have been left unprovided with any means of aid: yet in consequence of such regulations, a material difference took place in the general condition of

* In order to secure Monsieur Toutolmin from any ill consequences, Buonaparte promised to forward this document, as from himself, to the Dowager Empress, which was done, but no answer was ever received.

† Buonaparte in consequence of this distributed 30,000 roubles, that had been coined in copper, among the wretches mentioned in the above report, who amounted to 500 in number. The copper, however, was nearly useless; the French, who were in chief possession of all articles of food, would not accept it, because too weighty to be carried off; so that being disregarded as useless in the town, it was carried away by the peasants to be buried in their gardens for future use.

It is singular that, before the war, an ukase came out ordering 33 churches at Moscow (where there were anciently said to be near 2000) to be pulled down. The superstition of the people attributed their calamities to this circumstance. The emperor has vowed to build a new church at Moscow in commemoration of the late deliverance of Russia.

the citizens, and even at the beginning of the third week the town had assumed an appearance comparatively tranquil.

In consequence of this the people began to turn their thoughts to a new subject; hitherto no mass had been celebrated in Moscow since the day the French entered; it was proposed, therefore, to open one of the churches for public accommodation. After a long search a priest was discovered *(aumonier du regiment de chev. gardes)* who undertook to officiate; preparations were made with due solemnity, and a French guard mounted at the doors to preserve order. The church of Eupla-Diacona was selected for this purpose; long before the appointed hour the entrance was beset by the populace, and on the doors being thrown open, the area was in an instant thronged by the anxious crowd that hurried to their devotions. Eye-witnesses report the scene of religious earnestness which here took place, to have been such as far exceeded in interest any of the most striking spectacles exhibited by the ostentatious ceremonials of the Greek church. It so happened that this day was the feast of St. Alexander, the emperor's name's day; a Te Deum was chanted on the occasion, and the happy omen hailed with joy.

As better treatment began to prevail, the country peasants occasionally shewed themselves at the barriers, and a few even ventured into the town, where, mixing with the French soldiers, and finding themselves kindly received, they began to bring provisions to the market as before.

All this, however, was not merely with the desire of gain, but they hoped also, under the mask of good humour, to conceal their projects of revenge. They would constantly laugh, and shake hands, and dance (as they said) with *monsieur*, calling themselves *son ami*, *son humble serviteur*, for they are gifted with an extraordinary facility in catching the phrases of a foreign tongue. But, notwithstanding this, whenever they were fortunate enough to light upon *monsieur* alone, they infallibly murdered him, and sometimes with circumstances of aggravation the most cruel and barbarous.

The soldiers were so far deceived by these demonstrations of friendship, that they sometimes sat down to dinner at the village cottages, leaving their muskets, in unsuspecting confidence, piled outside of the door: the peasants then watching their opportunity, assembled together and butchered their guests with their own arms, while enjoying the proffered hospitality; triumphing in the glory of an act of vengeance, but still more proud of the devilish subtilty of the scheme. Many foraging parties were in this way, cut off by the crafty rustics. An extract of a letter, written by a steward of an estate in the country to his master at Petersburg, giving a simple account of his success, deserves to be quoted.—"The French came to us, "and took from us hay, oats, bread, and some cattle; "however, we have got still sufficient for the winter. In "some of your estates they have committed great ravages: "about three weeks ago they came to us again with an in-

" tention to burn our village, but by the assistance of God
" and your peasantry we have killed them all, like so many
" starved dogs. We found in their baggage many church
" ornaments, a priest's surplice, and a string of pearls. I
" have given all these for the use of our parish church: we
" want nothing belonging to the French; we are contented,
" and must not provoke divine vengeance." Some curious anecdotes are also in circulation illustrative of their zeal and perseverance. A story is related of a slave living on Count Romanzov's estate, in the neighbourhood of Moscow, who was shot at and wounded by a soldier that was diverting himself in making a predatory excursion; the poor wretch, feeling he had not long to live, crawled as well as he was able to his cottage: the Frenchman, thinking this a fair occasion of making some booty, followed the steps of his victim, and found him, when he entered, stretched at length on the floor in the agonies of death. Upon this he proceeded without delay ("Attali ignotus hœres") to put in his claims to the most valuable moveables of the cabin, and was descending through the trap door in the centre where the store is kept, when the dying peasant, summoning his remaining strength, seized his hatchet and staggered to the spot; with one blow he cleft the Frenchman's head in twain, and then himself dropping down from loss of blood, breathed his last gasp at the same moment with his cruel assassin. Various examples of the courage and spirit of individuals might be afforded, for no one was a quiet spectator of what passed; but it is time to close this account

for the sake of recurring to what was said on the state of circumstances on the other side.

In the beginning of October the cold had began to set in; and at the same time the increased activity of the Russian army posted near Kalouga redoubled the anxiety of the French generals. Every possible expedient was resorted to that might animate the drooping spirits of the soldiers, or at least to divert them from ruminating on their condition. It was their turn now to practise such stratagems of deceit, as the Russians had resorted to before their departure from the city: a second envoy to the Emperor Alexander was talked of; various amusements and spectacles were proposed. I have seen indeed a bill of one of the performances at their temporary theatre, bearing date October 12th, being only five days previous to the evacuation of the city. But all was in vain; the victory gained by Benningsen at Taratina, led them to form such inferences, with regard to the prospect now open to them, as produced a marked change in the countenance of all the French officers. Their communicative spirit seemed sunk, and their gaiety and usual face of assurance were for once dismayed: "*c'est fait de nous—nous voila bien flambès,*" now and then was heard to escape their lips: but they grew, in general, cautious of entertaining conversation, and never talked of affairs but in dark hints or in whispers with one another.

Immediate retreat from Moscow was become a matter of necessity rather than choice, and it was a step that

could not be taken without infinite hazard. At last the mind of the Emperor appeared to be made up: orders were given that the convoys of the wounded should set out on the road to Smolensko, with directions to the commissariat to prepare biscuit for twenty days. This was soon bruited through the town: after which, at four o'clock on the evening of October 18, the generale was suddenly beaten, and in the space of one hour several regiments were already put in motion towards the south. Mortier was left in charge of Moscow, with a garrison of 5,000 men. His first act was to remove his quarters to the Kremlin for the sake of security, since it could not be expected that the deserted situation of the place would be long unknown to the Russians. On the 20th, indeed, a party of Cossacks, trusting to their own observation, penetrated into the town, and proceeded through great part of the Twerskoi before troops could be collected to repulse them, which was not effected till after a hard struggle.

A day or two afterwards General Witzingerode, with his aid-de-camp, entered for the purpose of making a *reconnaissance:* having reached the boulevards, he was surprised to see a squadron of French cavalry appear suddenly in his rear. Upon this he bethought himself of a *ruse de guerre,* and holding up his white handkerchief as a flag of truce, addressed himself to the officer commanding the squadron, purporting to be an envoy from the Russian army, and desirous to be led instantly to head-quarters. He

was conducted accordingly to the Kremlin. But Mortier was not to be deceived by so shallow a device; he discovered him, and protested in strong terms against the idea of a commander in chief becoming his own messenger: the excuse being on this ground, therefore, totally inadmissible, he said he should consider him as a prisoner of war, and sent him, under guard, to Buonaparte. Here this story was nearly brought to a tragical conclusion. The emperor's temper was soured by disappointment, and in open violation of all just principle, he condemned Witzingerode to death: acting upon one of those political sophisms, for which he is so remarkable, and seeing his captive, for he was a Westphalian, in no other light than that of a rebel, bearing arms against his king and master. The general's extraordinary preservation and subsequent escape are well known.

As to the original intention of Buonaparte, with regard to the occupation of Moscow, many speculations have been entered upon by various people: since, from the circumstance of an esplanade being cleared with some labour, on that side of the Kremlin which fronts the Kitaigorod, and also from the entrenchments and barricade, constructed before the gate on the water-side, fears had been entertained at one time, that he meant still to keep possession of the place. The 26th bulletin indeed gives an hint of such an intention, although, it is added, for certain reasons, the Kremlin was held untenable, and altogether, "the un- "healthy and impure sink of Moscow" was abandoned.

The preparations, however, for blowing up the walls and other parts, of which no secret was made, first gave to the citizens an assurance that he would really evacuate. Yet nothing was known for certain, until two o'clock in the morning of the 23d October, when the four explosions, before alluded to, were heard in succession, giving a terrible annunciation of what was passing, and putting a finishing stroke to the wanton insults that had been heaped upon this nation.

The French troops, who, for the sake of shew, had been paraded in various directions during several hours, commenced their march at 7 o'clock in the evening of the 22d; and at sunrise on the following morning no trace was to be seen but the frightful ruin they had occasioned.

In the course of this memorable day the Cossacks took possession of the town; but instead of their arrival being a subject of congratulation, this was a new hour of trial for the persecuted inhabitants. In the heat of their misguided fury, these troops commenced a search in all the houses for plunder, under the pretence of looking for French soldiers; whom, if by chance they found, they instantly put to death, sick or wounded, as they lay in their beds.

Those to whom the French had manifested any partiality became, in the moment, the objects of their rage, and were pursued with similar assiduity. A score of Cossacks burst into the house of Mons. Beketov, near the *Pont aux Marechaux*, where they beat the women with their sabres, and would have killed the men had they not made

a precipitate escape during the tumult. After this the mob of peasants led the way to the French colony, which was a long established fraternity of refugees, who had taken up their abode in one of the northern quarters of the Semlianigorod: "Behold," said one of the Mougiks, addressing himself to the Cossacks, "behold a nest of spies "and traitors whom we have long nourished in the "heart of our city—kill without reserve." Upon this address they prepared to execute the bloody design: but the venerable Abbé Savagnè, rushing forward, besought them to hear a few words in defence of himself and his flock. The firm air and manner with which he spoke assured them of his innocence. The Cossacks listened patiently, and not only obeyed his request, but even themselves promised to engage the people to retire without seeking to glut their revenge with such acts of unjust reprisal.

This time of confusion and anarchy was indeed a dreadful interval, which assumed every hour a more serious aspect. General Benkendorf, who arrived with three battalions on the following day, exerted himself to the utmost; yet the exasperation of the mob knew no bounds, and it was with the greatest difficulty that tranquillity was restored.

It had been noised abroad that 2,000 sick and wounded Frenchmen had been left in the Foundling and Gallitzin hospitals. A few of the poor creatures being in a convalescent state, set out to follow the retreating army, but were instantly murdered, and the mob discovering whence they

proceeded, assembled in crowds before the doors with denunciations of vengeance. The thirst of blood seemed to have increased with every fresh act of gratification: three times did they address themselves, by deputation, to General Benkendorf, soliciting permission to enter the hospitals where these wretches lay. They were of course as often denied; yet all explanation or reasoning was useless; the last time, however, of their coming, the general spoke so strongly, and threatened them with such severe punishment if they returned, that they were compelled, though reluctantly, to disperse.

With regard to the Cossacks, as their name has been mentioned, it is not meant to assert that they are likely to abstain from such conduct, when incited by the rage of the people; yet on this subject we must refer to what was said at a former occasion. Many are the acts of outrage that are undeservedly attributed to them. Cossack is a term in this country, which being transferred from the tribes usually employed in certain duties, is used to express any irregular body of militia whatsoever. Every one so serving is not necessarily of their race, any more than an hussar in any other service is an indigenous Hungarian. There were several new regiments during the war, as is the constant practice, armed and appointed *à la Cossaque*. I remember indeed that on our passing through Twer, a body of Cossacks (as they were called) had just returned from the army, and were disbanded at that place, being almost all of them natives of the pro-

vince; they had been crown-slaves, drivers, lacqueys, bargemen, serving in various capacities, but that had no further pretensions to their name, than their carrying long pikes, wearing loose hose, and displaying certain powers of knavery.

July 4th.—It is on this day that a solemn procession takes place to the monastery where is preserved an image of the Virgin, which once struck the Tartars with blindness upon their making an attack on Moscow. As, however, she had wrought no miracle on the late occasion, we neglected the persuasions of her devotees, and set out, as we had proposed, on our road to Smolensko; having it in view to trace the route of the French army during their retreat.

A few mansions appeared in ruins on the side of the way, but this was a sight with which we had now grown familiar. The first objects which arrested our attention were the remains of the batteries erected at Poclonigorod, (the bowing hill) where it was at one time intended to have made another stand against the French army, after the loss of the battle of Borodino. The road passed over a gently rising ground on which the works were constructed; the flanks of the position were secured to a certain degree by large and thick forests, but the country beyond was open and practicable for every sort of operation, and it was judicious perhaps not to risk an action against the numerous force that the enemy was moving up, especially as a reverse would have been attended with the worst possible consequences, since the distance from Moscow was no more than 12 versts.

The town of Mojaisk was for the greater part destroyed by conflagration; its inhabitants, as well as the peasantry of the vicinity, had fled, they said, on the advance of the French to Vladomir, and their houses were set in flames by the retreating Russians. The French afterwards, retreating in their turn, set a finishing hand to the work.

It was at this place that the army regained the Smolensko road, after that the manœuvres of Kutusof, together with the loss of the battle of Malojareslovetz, had frustrated their intention of accomplishing a passage through the southern provinces. While the grand Russian army marched in a direct line upon Krasnoi, intending to intercept them, they were here actively pursued by Platow and Miloradovitch, and Orlow Denisov; the first of whom coming up at Mojaisk, made a successful attack, forcing them over an eminence at the back of the town, which was pointed out to us with much glee by our rustic driver.

But the fields of Borodino were now within six versts, and we were wholly occupied in anticipating the pleasure of viewing a spot of so great notoriety. Advancing from the rear, we first passed the little cottage at Tatarinova, where Kutusow's head quarters were established, and soon after arrived on the ground occupied by the Russians during the ever-memorable battle of the 5th of August. As the road passed through the centre of the position, we had an excellent view of the whole. In this respect, it bore a peculiar interest, that it was not a post casually

taken up in the course of the campaign, but long selected beforehand, and fortified with great care. General Beningsen, to whom this duty was entrusted, resided here with the engineers for a week; it was the same officer indeed who afterwards put the works to the test, and in conjunction with B. de Tolli directed the chief operations of the day.

The point at which we had arrived presented to our view a straight natural terrace of about thirty or forty feet of elevation, falling with a gentle descent in front, and extending three or four English miles in length; along the foot ran the Kologha, a small tributary stream to the Mosqwa, which was fordable in many places. The right flank was secured by the last mentioned river, and otherwise so strong, that no attempt was made by the enemy in that quarter. The left was protected by a deep ravine, beyond which was an height occupied with three redoubts. Besides this, two knolls, crowned with batteries, strengthened the left centre, commanding, by their towering station, the whole field around; immediately below stood Borodino.

The French occupied an eminence on the other side of the Kologha, in a line extending from a point opposite the Russian centre, and reaching round the extremity of their left, which they in fact completely turned; their ground was of an higher elevation, but not such as to afford any command within cannon range. They were supported by two batteries on the south, and the parapets of two others were yet remaining near Kaloueva, which had been constructed to favour their latter operations.

The redoubts on the height before mentioned, which protected the left of the Russians, were carried on the first day of the action, after which the plan of the enemy underwent a change, and an attack commenced on the centre. Notwithstanding a double range of guns that poured their fire down the long natural glacis opposed to them, the impetuous valour of the French bore them on undaunted. Early in the morning, they carried the village of Borodino, before the Russians had time to destroy the bridge, and crossing the Kologha, advanced up the heights, and made three desperate charges; but being received by troops brave as themselves, they were driven back with immense slaughter. Upon this they again altered their plan, and returned to the left to follow up the advantages gained in that quarter. This wing of the Russians had been much weakened by the loss of the height before mentioned; for what reason it was not recovered I cannot say, since the French batteries were too far removed to be able to afford any efficient support, and the situation of a corps in the wood behind rendered its recovery practicable by an attack in reverse. Its possession by the enemy certainly gave them the most decided superiority, and in consequence they succeeded, on the third day, in gaining possession of the ground on which their adversaries left wing had stood. At night the parties mutually drew off, and the Russians seized this opportunity of effecting their retreat unmolested. Their army was not in a condition to resume the field with any prospect of advantage: the French were

already superior in number, and an overwhelming force was coming up; while at the same time a second contest, attended even with better success than the first, could not have saved the city of Moscow.

A more sanguinary conflict had never been fought in any preceding war; upwards of 63,000 bodies, the victims of three days, were left for interment, the loss being on both sides nearly upon an equality. On viewing the numerous difficulties that were here surmounted; on the one hand the commanding situation of the redoubts, the strength of the ravines, and the artificial aids that were opposed; on the other, the obstinacy of the defence, and the steadiness and intrepidity with which every attack of their daring enemy was resisted, one cannot but look on this memorable engagement as one of those great examples of spirit and courage, that not only form the pride of military history, but, morally speaking, seems to elevate the character of human nature.

On descending from Gorrha to the village of Borodino, we lighted upon a foreigner who was sitting in a meditative posture on the banks of the Kologha. In a place so unfrequented, a casual rencontre is an introduction: we addressed ourselves to the stranger, and were received with great politeness: though startled at our sudden appearance, he seemed pleased at an opportunity of finding any person to whom he could communicate his thoughts. He informed us he was a native of Poland who had served as an officer in Sebastiani's division at the battle, where

where he was struck by a ball during the attack upon the centre, and being left on the field, was taken prisoner by the Russians, and sent to Archangel. Now set at liberty, he was returning to his native country, and happening in his route to pass over this place, had stopped to survey once more the field of carnage. The spot on which we stood was the same where he had received his wound; and he had been sitting, he said, nearly an hour, tracing in his mind the various images of the past. He was unable to tear himself away; the view made such an impression on him as quite bewildered his ideas; and when he looked on these fields now so tranquil, and so different from the tumultuous scene they had before exhibited, it seemed as if his former recollections were but the memory of a dream.

> All, all is peaceful, all is still,
> As if these waves, since time was born,
> — — — — —
> Had only heard the shepherd's reed,
> Nor startled at the bugle-horn.

After gathering what information we could, we left our new acquaintance to pursue his journey; and feeling ourselves too much interested to hurry from the ground so soon, we proceeded to the height on the left of the positions, where we found the field works still remaining. The ravine separating this post from the main body was commanded by a strong battery at Semenovski, which swept the greater part of its length, and the ground yet shewed many memorials of the havoc that had taken place. But on arriving at

the redoubts, these melancholy tokens were still more abundant; the interior was literally strewed with caps, feathers, scabbards, pieces of camp kettles, scraps of uniforms, French and Russian mixed together in confusion, apparently in the place where each man had fallen. A little farther was the spot where General Montbrun was killed by a cannon-ball; an officer whose intrepidity well deserved the encomium of his comrades. Over his grave, a small wooden tablet, attached to a rough stake, bore an inscription to his memory. It had been penned in ink after the hurry of the day was past; but the simple and classical turn of its style well entitles it to record.

Ci git
Le General Montbrun.
Passant, de 'quelque nation
qui tu sois,
respecte ces cendres:
Ces sont les restes d'un des plus
braves parmi tous les
braves du monde,
du General Montbrun.
Le Maréchal d'Empire, Duc de Dantzic,
lui a érigé ce faible monument.
Sa memoire est dans tous les cœurs
de la Grande Armée.

Of these field works it was easy to see, said the 18th French bulletin, that they "were but half formed, the fosse

"shallow, neither pallisadoed nor defended with *chevaux* "*de frise*," yet this was the key of the position: the critique does not seem to have been ill applied; there was no sufficient obstacle to have prevented a body of cavalry from forcing their way directly over the parapets; and, judging from present appearances, one of them had been carried in this manner.

After the expulsion of the French army from Russia, a question of some importance arose regarding the best mode of getting rid of the innumerable carcases of men and horses which covered the surface of the ground. The method of burying in quick lime was suggested; but as it occurred that the wood necessary for burning so large a quantity of lime would in all probability be sufficient to consume the bodies themselves, the scheme was dropped, and the more summary process preferred of committing them at once to the flames. They lay during the hard season in a frozen state, until a short time before the thaw was expected to commence; they were then hewn in pieces, collected in heaps, and consumed upon piles of wood.

The contractile convulsions of the limbs upon being thawed by the action of the fire is stated to have given rise to a very witty saying on the subject, in allusion to writhings and contortions in realms of fire below. Possibly the turn of the idea in the Russian language may give a gloss to the expression, but it does not seem to claim any great merit for the neatness of the allusion, nor yet for its originality.

Considerable fear prevailed at one time, lest pestilential fevers should be generated from the corruption of these carcases, in case they had been left to rot in the open air. It was asserted in opposition to this doctrine, that the *miasmata* arising from animal putrifaction were not found by experience to possess those detrimental qualities which attend the decomposition of vegetable matter. With what truth such an argument may be urged, let those who are better informed take upon themselves to decide; but certain it is that many of the bodies were left unburied, exposed only to the rapacity of the wolves, or the still more tedious operation of the forest ants; nor at any place, as far as I could hear, did those who lived near suffer the ill effects from this circumstance, which had been so often predicted.

The village of Gridnevo, our next station, was the spot where Buonaparte encamped the night before he marched for Borodino, and had been the scene of some trifling affairs. Our post-master had remained here during the whole campaign, witnessing the march and retreat of both parties; but he seemed to know very little concerning what had passed, as it may be said, before his eyes, which, nevertheless, was no uncommon case. It is worthy of remark, that this part of the road, the hamlet itself, the Kolozki monastery, and other neighbouring places, were frequently surprised and taken possession of by detachments from the army of Witzingerode, during the occupation of Moscow; intercepting, by these movements, the communications of the French with their rear.

Gshatsk shewed less signs of ravage than any other town in this line; but Viasma, on the other hand, presented as dismal a scene as we had any where witnessed. Nearly all the large houses were gutted and burnt. It contained before the war 15,000 inhabitants, and might boast a name of high antiquity, being formerly made an appanage to the family of the grand dukes of Russia. Some traces of old towers and ramparts were discoverable, though these too had been in part demolished.

At the entrance to the town from the east was a large plain, where the retreating army of the French drew up, and sustained the attacks of the corps of Orlov Denisov and Miloradovitch, on the 21st and 22d of October, (O. S.). Their exhausted state compelled them on the latter day, after some severe fighting, to give way, and being thrown into disorder, they took to flight with precipitation. Their victorious enemy pursued them through the streets with trumpets sounding and colours flying; and upwards of 6000 men were sacrificed to the fury of the Russians.

The hatred and exasperation of all ranks of people against the French was so inveterate, that even at the time of our making this journey, their feelings ran as high as ever, in testimony of which I must add the narrative of a circumstance that occurred here.

It will be necessary to apologise to my reader, who has accompanied me thus far, for detaining him with any tale of self adventure; but the story is so illustrative of the manners as well as sentiments of the people, that I hope to stand excused for its introduction.

Being employed in sketching a view on the skirts of the town, a citizen came up, and after surveying me with symptoms of disapprobation, shouted in a vehement tone, "*Plan—espion—Napoleon dobry—Francosen!*" I was unable to answer this strange disjointed jargon, but by a single "*Engliska,*" which, as it asserted the name of my country in answer to his last accusation, I thought might prove satisfactory, and continued my occupation. This seemed to inflame his rage the more; he again addressed me with the same words and received the same answer; for a moment it pacified him, and, in the true Russian style, he proceeded to offer me the kiss of peace; I naturally enough refused his overture, venting, in my turn, a few loud words, as unintelligible, no doubt, to him as his had been to me. Supposing this to be fresh ground of suspicion against me, or perhaps fancying himself insulted, he became frantic with passion, he spit on his fingers several times, rolled himself with violent gestures on the ground; but finding that I still continued my work he left me, and I congratulated myself on being rid of my troublesome companion. He presently returned, followed by a serjeant of the police and a third person; another furious volley of abuse now succeeded from all the three, and the police officer without farther delay seized upon me. The affair was thus growing serious, and as I had seen these men, upon taking any person into custody, usually give the culprit a thwack upon the back as if in detestation of his crime, I expected no better treatment, and prudently

struck him myself by way of prevention. He immediately loosed his hold, recoiling a few steps in amazement; yet it availed me nothing, for he called up six or seven *soldats* of his guard to attend him. I, on the other hand, vociferated for my domestic, who was within hail; but since my force, even with this accession, was far out-numbered by that of my adversaries, it seemed wise to essay a parley, and I directed the servant to explain to these brutes the nature of my occupation, and display at the same time a written permission which was furnished me by the vice governor of Moscow, allowing me to make drawings any where within his province. It was something in justification at least, though by no means a document thoroughly satisfactory; a similar certificate from the governor of this district would, however, have served no better, for these men were unable to read a single word, and using less ceremony with the poor fellow than they thought it right to do with me, they seized upon him as an accomplice in my treasonable act, and hurried him to prison, for it was hard by, without listening to his harangue. Having done this, they surrounded me in a ring; their numbers being now very much increased by the arrival of several idle Mougiks whom curiosity had attracted: and since their threats were growing every instant more violent, and, furthermore, as a priest, who accidentally passed by at this juncture, appeared rather to encourage the outcry than inclined to take my part, I yielded to the repeated solicitations of the turnkey, and entered the prison door.

After waiting for some time, a messenger came from the governor desiring to speak with me: being introduced to his presence, he received me with great politeness, anticipating my address by begging my pardon, as he said, for himself and for his poor people.—"I hope you will excuse them, they are so ignorant, and have suffered so much—they are sorely exasperated against the authors of their sufferings, and in their eyes every foreigner is a Frenchman." I assented to what he said, but could not help letting a wish escape me that they should be corrected in the very awkward mode they adopted of expressing these sentiments. He immediately turned round, and ordered the punishment of the "*coup de baton*" to the serjeant of police. I now interceded in my turn, begging that no measure should be put in execution which might check, even in a single individual, those rude feelings of Russian patriotism to which all Europe, in the present æra, stood so much indebted; and professed that I should be satisfied if he were brought to beg my pardon in token of his error. His excellency returned a polite answer, and the offender was immediately ordered up and prostrated before me, uttering some strange noises in penitence, which, though I comprehended not one word, had, nevertheless, a most agreeable and refreshing sound.

In some measure the interruption I received was not unmerited, having been often before cautioned by the civil officers of government to avoid making sketches; but the temptation, while viewing places so interesting as these,

could not be resisted; besides, the accident was an amusing one, and it may be said to be something at least in the way of novelty, to have seen the inside of a Russian jail.

The prisoners immediately on my entrance had assembled around me with eager and enquiring looks, losing no time to signify by signs, according to the force of their respective imaginations, that I should be shot or knouted, or hung; all seemed agreed as to my guilt and my certain condemnation, varying only in the apportionment of my sentence. One poor fellow, indeed, to whom I had given some few copecks in the morning during the hour they are permitted to beg in the town, ventured to hint (though diffidently) that perhaps they might have selected a worse man. Another contented himself with making a few remarks on my dress, adding, he had remembered a person of his own condition who quitted his village about twenty years ago, with a passport to go to Petersburg, and returned habited in as fine clothes as what I then wore.

As they all seemed communicative, I enquired in my turn, through the medium of my servant as an interpreter, the reasons for which they were severally confined in this dismal place of abode; some told me they were detained for small debts, others for small thefts, and a considerable number were slaves, imprisoned, on different grounds, by the sentence of their master. Among these were a man and boy who had served as coachman and postilion in the household of a neighbouring seigneur: they probably deserved punishment, yet their fate appeared peculiarly hard.

Having gone out in the morning to water the horses, one of them was brought back, from some accident or other, with a broken knee: the master, enraged at what had happened, ordered them instantly to prison, where, for the first week, they were daily beaten with rods; and had since that time, a period of eighteen months, been kept in close custody. It is to be hoped that such instances of oppression and cruelty are rare.

On leaving this town we passed several *tumuli* on the road side, covering the remains of those who had fallen in the war of 1812: every place, indeed, bore the memory of some event connected with that campaign: at Jeremin 1000 prisoners were taken by Platow; at Semlovo, again a thousand; and at the latter place our post-master related, in simple terms, how the men were scattered in parties here and there; how they sheltered themselves behind the banks; how large bodies of the retreating army had three times passed and repassed the bridge in front of his house, repulsing their enemy and being repulsed themselves in turn, with many amusing observations on what he saw.

Hitherto the French army had retreated in an orderly style, and defended themselves with courage; nevertheless they were placed in circumstances of the severest distress; they were closely pursued by Platow with a large force of cavalry, while but a small division of their own could be mustered, and that both in bad condition, and diminishing daily in strength from the want of provender. Even

during the stay at Moscow much distress had been occasioned by this circumstance: though the men frequently slept in the streets, that they might place their horses under shelter of the house, and took every care of them, yet a great mortality prevailed. Nothing could cripple the army more effectually; not only were their dragoons dismounted, but, for the same reason, they were forced to blow up more than an hundred ammunition waggons, and, within the two or three last stages, to abandon the greater part of their artillery for want of horses to carry it away. It was curious, indeed, we were told, to trace, in the course of their flight, the successive diminution in size of the different pieces of ordnance which were taken, at first the twelve pounders, then the eights, and then the sixes; their means of transport constantly decreasing as they advanced farther on their march.

In the mean while the Russian troops, in pursuit, were furnished with every article that could assist their activity; they harassed them perpetually, driving in on every side their scattered parties, and cutting off their only hopes of finding subsistence. Orlov Denisov pushed on so far, that he intercepted on the 25th, (O. S.) a convoy of 30 waggons laden with provisions, which were coming up from beyond Dorogobusch.

But now a fresh source of calamity arose; the severe cold set in unusually early this year, and aggravated in every way the sufferings to which they were exposed. The men, no longer capable of exertion, dropped in numbers by

the road, overpowered by famine or exhausted by fatigue; listless, inactive, and unable to defend themselves, they yielded an easy prey to the victors: in short, here was felt the commencement of that fatal period which few ever lived to see completed.

July 7.—We passed the little stream of the Osma at a comfortless hour in the chill of the morning; the rafters and half burnt stakes of the bridge, which was destroyed during the retreat, were still remaining, and the steep banks seemed yet to bear the marks of the tumult which had taken place. Amidst the hazy uncertain twilight, it was not difficult to picture to the imagination the plain around, scattered with carts, and waggons, and cannon, all abandoned at this spot; or to fancy a thousand miserable wretches that wandered up and down the water side, in vain looking for a passage, or the half stifled cries of the drowning soldiers mingled with the triumphant shouts of their pursuers.

Those, however, who surmounted this difficulty found a season of relief: at the distance of about eight versts, they succeeded in gaining a strong position on the heights above Dorogobusch, which commanded the town, the road, and the river Dnieper; and here they defied for a while the utmost efforts of the Russian troops: some parties, who were fortunate in their time of arrival and departure, gaining upwards of two days rest.

Dorogobusch is gaily described in the French bulletins as a "town of 10,000 souls and eight steeples:" and we

found it, even in its present state, no unpleasing station. Its ruinous aspect was enlivened by the presence of several bands of country people indulging in the humours of a fair; and the rafts on the Dnieper were crowded with a variety of figures dressed in all the finery of the Russian costume.

It was an annual assembly of the people from the neighbourhood, at which certain rustic festivities were kept up for the space of three days; the last of these was the chief resort of persons of better condition in life, who came to purchase provisions for their household store; such being the custom of the country, and, indeed, one that is dictated by necessity in so wild a district.

We conversed with several seigneurs and their ladies from the vicinity; the latter entertained us chiefly with their complaints of the great want of British manufactures, stuff for gowns, &c. and when this topic was exhausted, the former gave us long stories of their Cossaquing with their domestics in the forests and fields during the course of the late war: some of them had received the order of Vladomir for their services, but the narratives contained nothing new.

From this place it was that the corps of Murat turned off from the Smolensko road, directing their march upon Duchowschtschina, whither they were followed by the indefatigable Platow. After their separation, the main body of the French army seeing that Miloradovitch was already in advance on their flank, quitted their position at Dorogobusch, and again set out on their road. The tract they here passed over appeared to us much more diversified with

hill and dale than what we before had traversed, and intersected less frequently by lines of forests, affording in many respects an advantage to the retreating army. As to the present general aspect, to speak of those parts which were remote from the towns, they had never been in a cultivated state, and the marks of ravage were therefore not very easily traced. The wooden cabins of the people were rebuilt almost as soon as destroyed, the posts had been re-established within these few months, and except for the scarcity of horses, and murmurs of our drivers at being compelled to their duty when other employment called for their exertion, we should have remarked few visible symptoms of the late disasters.

The feeling of the peasants nevertheless sufficiently manifested, in eternal execrations of the French, and every thing belonging to that nation, a sentiment which they had before displayed, as furiously by their actions as now by words. It was during this part of the retreat that, emboldened by their apparent weakness, the rustics ventured to attack detached parties and stragglers wherever they found them unsupported; and when once fallen within their power, they had no chance of escaping assassination. In some places they burned them within their cottages; in others they would excavate a pit, and throw in as many of the prisoners as they could collect; inviting them courteously with a few French phrases,—*Entrez, Messieurs—je vous en prie—soyez tranquille—il y a assez de place—entrez, entrez*:—when they had filled the hole sufficiently, they

threw in the mould, and buried the whole party alive. Many, it was said, also bought prisoners from their escort, for the pleasure of killing them with their own hands: how far this is true, I know not; but the number that perished on the road from fatigue or ill-usage was inconceivably great.

An officer, who had been marched from this province to the borders of the White Sea, informed me that out of 1,400 men, with whom he set out, only 400 finally arrived at their destination. After that they had passed Novogorod, they proceeded on their route unaccompanied by any military escort; and the peasants taking advantage of the circumstance, not only abridged them of their food, but murdered them frequently on the most trifling pretences.

July 9.—We now crossed the Dnieper on one of the rafts of the country, and had travelled a few versts in the valley through which it winds its course, when on a sudden turn of the road the hills opened, and disclosed, at a short distance, a view of Smolensko. It was no longer the "Volcano of fire," but a quiet and peaceful scene. The heights on which the town stood shewed the domes of the venerable cathedral rising majestically over their summit, while their sides, from the top to the very base, were covered with trees and gardens in rich luxuriance; the few ruined houses that were discoverable at this distance, together with the turrets and ancient walls that encircled them, rather lent a picturesque effect to the scene than excited any feeling of horror. Advancing a little

I. T. James del.t

I. Clark sculp.t

farther, we entered the suburbs on the right bank of the river, the same which had suffered from the conflagration that took place at the close of the battle of Smolensko. These too had now been entirely renewed; and the wooden bridge over the Dnieper, which had been destroyed by the retreating army of the Russians, was supplied by one of a light military construction, the work of the French engineers.

As we drove up the hill we heard the sound of music, and observed a display of lights in the streets that betokened some occasion of public rejoicing. The governor, it seemed, had issued orders that the citizens should illuminate on this night, in honour of the general success of the allied arms, and the capture of Paris. It was done *(à la Russe)* about three months after the event had taken place; but of all people, we had the least reason to complain of the circumstance: and we gratified our curiosity by strolling about for some hours in the dusk, to view this exhibition of loyalty. It could not be called splendid in comparison with the similar spectacles that the same events had given birth to elsewhere; but when we beheld these signs of triumph glittering amidst the desolated mansions of Smolensko, it must be confessed they excited a feeling far beyond the charm of the most splendid pageantry which art could have devised.

On the next morning we rose early, to make a second tour round the town. The cathedral, notwithstanding all the reports in circulation, was uninjured, and afforded a

fine specimen of the style of ecclesiastical magnificence in this country.

But this building stood almost single amidst heaps of ruins: the scene at hand presented a detail far different in its aspect from the gay prospect which before had flattered the eye. The chief street of the town, the great square, even to the very house which was pointed out as having been the lodging of Buonaparte, had all suffered the same destruction. The walls too of the town were breached in several parts, and the towers, on which batteries of howitzers had been planted during the action of the 18th of August, were in a very shattered state. Besides the devastation of that day, the retreating French army occasioned much mischief, and many private houses were burnt and ransacked by them which had escaped the hands of the Russian incendiaries.

The power of defence of these ancient fortifications had been aided here and there by the addition of modern outworks, and, upon the whole, the place must have been regarded as a very strong and commanding post at the time of the first approach of the French. When it had changed possession and passed to their hands, it might have enabled Buonaparte, could he have been content to have wintered here, to have given a very different termination to his campaign in the following year, and, if no enemy had started in his rear, would probably have enabled him to compass the destruction of the Russian Empire.

We saw the field of battle, and the positions which the

J. T. James del.t

Etched by the Hon.ble H.T. Legge

CATHEDRAL CHURCH of SMOLENSKO.

[illegible] Street, [illegible]

Russians occupied at about 3 versts in advance of the place, on the road to Witepsk. The two armies were ranged on the opposite sides of an extensive ravine. The Russians were strongly posted, but the operations of the French on their left flank, which threatened, at one time, almost to cut off their communications with the town, obliged them to fall back on the third day, and in executing this movement they suffered severely. They were, however, not so dispirited as their enemies represented them to have been; and, notwithstanding the boastful air of the French bulletin, Buonaparte experienced a resistance here which he had but little expected. It is asserted, indeed, that, foreseeing, from the obstinacy with which this struggle was maintained, the sanguinary nature of his future campaigns, he ordered some hundred officers immediately to the rear, with their heads bandaged as if they had been wounded, giving them secret directions to return and assist in forwarding the discipline of his new levies in Poland, because recruits would be wanted for his army.

What were, at that period, the feelings of the poor citizens of Smolensko, it would be a difficult task to describe: they had previously been fed with the most flattering tales: the emperor, who passed through a short time before, assured them all was well; and yet in a few days the enemy shewed themselves at their very gates. They were then, at a moment's warning, ordered to leave their homes and follow the flying army, for that Smolensko was to be a city no more. Even this notification was, in some

instances, followed by rigorous enforcement: many inhabitants were actually torn away from their houses, and the few that ventured to stay behind were afterwards severely called to account by the police for disobedience of orders.'

Those who had been the cause of all these miseries were destined to suffer a heavy retribution in the months that succeeded, as has been partially related above.

Buonaparte entered Moscow in September, with an army of 100,000 men, and he arrived at Smolensko on the 9th of November with the remains, mustering about 60,000 strong; many of them unarmed, and otherwise unfit for duty. He halted here three days, which was no more than was absolutely necessary, from their disorganised state. Much abuse has been lavished on him for his delay, but it may be observed that the French troops executed a march of 985 versts, from Malojaroslavetz to Wilna, in the space of 49 days, including five engagements, which, with so large a body, even in good condition, well equipped, and under excellent discipline, it would be held no inconsiderable task to perform.

As soon, however, as it was known that Kutusow had advanced in the direction of Krasnoi, Buonaparte was forced to proceed; and his harassed troops marched from hence to the endurance of fresh aggravations of suffering and misfortune.

It was impossible effectually to restore the system of the army, though the increasing want of regularity added so infinitely to their calamities. The sudden death or fre-

quent illness of some, and the capture of others, incapacitated the several necessary departments, and prevented a regular distribution even of the means of assistance that were at hand; while, as is wont in so desperate a situation of affairs, private feeling absorbed in every one both his wishes for the public good and his sense of individual duty.

But it may be urged that the very principle of the French army is, from its constitution, highly injurious to itself, whenever a reverse of fortune takes place; and we shall find on this occasion the proportion of their loss * was much greater than that which the Swedes suffered under Charles XII. with circumstances nearly similar. The same spirit of national character which fits every Frenchman for the

* The official returns published in Russia of the losses of the French army, from the 19th of June, 1812, to the end of the year, are as follows:—besides which a large number perished unheard of and unaccounted for.

KILLED AND WOUNDED.			PRISONERS.			Left in the hospitals.	Colours, standards and eagles.	Cannon.	Flints.	Powder waggons and cartridge chests.
Generals.	Officers, &c.	Privates.	Generals.	Officers, &c.	Privates.					
10	144	128,421	52	2,898	186,350	12,360	78	1,124	66,109	3,035

If we deduct 45,000 Austrians and Prussians, who returned to their respective countries, out of the whole army employed in various parts, amounting on paper to 570,000 men, only between 30,000 and 40,000 escaped; and of those who actually entered Russia scarce 10,000.

The loss of the Russians was also very extensive, from the severity of the weather, and the hardships they underwent: exclusive of the corps they left to observe the fortresses in their rear, the army, on entering Germany, mustered no more than 40,000 men: some of the corps had lost upwards of two-thirds of their men in the previous campaign.

activity of war, that fills him with the strongest ardour wherever the least expectations of success can be held out, and gives to the lowest individual an insight and interest in every operation that is undertaken—this same quickness enables him to catch at every appearance of misfortune with equal rapidity, and the "prophetic eye" is scared and terrified by a prospect which it were better should be concealed from public view.

Are they broken—they rally; are they once defeated—they are undone: a fact which has received abundant illustration from the disasters of their late campaigns. Their self-sufficiency is really their destruction.

Buonaparte, on this occasion, would probably not have been sorry to have availed himself of those strict and rigorous regulations, whose adoption, when proposed to him, on first entering the friendly country of Poland, would, he said, have demoralised the army: it was better the Poles should suffer than that his success should be endangered. The insults of his soldiers now read him a new lesson.

In truth, the principle of honour, which forms the basis of the French military system, is, in many cases, a poor substitute for real discipline. When it is once infringed upon, when the men feel that they are already defeated and disgraced beyond redemption, their support is gone, and they have nothing more to fear.

Such is the mode pursued, that their modern armies can scarcely be said to be placed under the correction of any discipline at all. A soldier may be shot or imprisoned,

or condemned to labour on the public works with an iron ball chained to his leg: but these are the punishments of heavy crimes, while for lesser offences, for those minor points, the certain and constant visitation of which inures vast unmanageable bodies of men to notions of orderly subjection, no adequate remedy is provided. Corporal punishment* is forbidden: an officer, it is true, sometimes strikes a soldier with his sabre, but he is for this act amenable to the law. There is no need to comment on the nature of the assumption of such a power, or its consequences.

It happened in one of the early periods of the revolutionary war, that the army of the southern Pyrenees was in the utmost state of disorder; and Augereau's division was

* In this respect the constitution of the French army is, I believe, unique: nothing similar is to be found in any other European service. With the Russians the corporal punishments are the *plat de sabre*, or *les verges*, which are switches furnished to each soldier in the ranks, when the culprit is ordered to run the gauntlet. In the Swedish service I think the *baton* is used. In the Austrian again the *baton:* a captain may, of his own authority, order twenty-five blows to be inflicted, a field officer more, even an hundred: for heavy offences the men are imprisoned, or sentenced to run the gauntlet. In the Prussian service a distinction is made of three classes: in the first class certain rewards are given, and in this as well as in the second, the men are exempt from corporal punishment; the third class alone are made liable: but all soldiers upon enlisting are placed in the second class, whence they are raised to the first or degraded to the third, according as their conduct deserves.

For the punishment of the *plat de sabre*, which is so general on the continent, thin swords are specially made for the purpose; but it may be added, both of this and the *baton*, that they are universally allowed to do a man more serious injury than the military punishments adopted with us in England.

one of the most licentious in its conduct: the measure taken by that general to effect a reform was the erection of a post in the centre of his camp, to which every man guilty of any offence was attached, and in this situation exposed to the derision of his comrades. Even now, if a soldier acts cowardly, or, as it is said, unworthy of the "great "nation," his coat is turned, he is exposed to ridicule on the parade, and drafted to another regiment, where he is to form a new character. Such is the description of punishment adopted: nor is it always without effect. But however peculiar the character of Frenchmen may be, however alive to a sense of honour, however susceptible of shame, yet there are certain principles which apply to human nature in general, and never vary: all mankind being, to a certain extent, alike, are manageable in the same way; and it requires no great sagacity to see that these large tumultuous bodies cannot possibly be kept in real subjection by the excitement of moral principle when unaided by the more binding power of fear. The intelligence and activity of a Frenchman may sometimes compensate the want of discipline in the field, as their *esprit du corps* in the camp; but on occasions where it is most wanted, on a retreat or under circumstances of misfortune, their code of honour is found useless and nugatory.

For this system they are indebted to the revolution, and to that mimickry of virtue and principle which was introduced by the ruling men of the day. If I mistake not, French

armies were once of a different composition; and we shall find, upon reference to history, that a different spirit pervaded the troops of Villars, Montmorency, or Turenne.

As to the army retreating from Russia, implicated in every calamity which their evil destiny could inflict, they were, without the accession of these peculiar evils, irrecoverably devoted to ruin. It would often excite the pity even of their enemies to behold the misery which the mad ambition of their chieftain had entailed upon the finest and best appointed army the world ever yet saw; and to contemplate the scenes of horror* and dismay, that even the romantic talent of Labaume has not painted in too high colours.

* It has often been asked whether the French army were ever so far reduced as to turn cannibals. I have been told by a private soldier, who had survived that campaign, that he had seen some of his comrades forced to make such a meal, but that he never had done so himself. It may be fair to add the words of a Russian officer on this subject. "During the campaign of 1812, I have seen "three Frenchmen roasting one of their companions, and eating his flesh; and "when asked why they did not devour the dead horses which were not far off, "one answered '*cette chair vaut mieux.*' In another instance I have seen two "men naked at a fire, and a third, who having laid himself down with his back to "the fire almost dead, his blistered flesh was eaten by the two others. I have "never been able to learn that any other soldiers, except the French, did this; "the rest spoke of it with horror and aversion, but the French merely with "regret of the hard necessity that compelled them."

SECTION V.

SOUTH OF RUSSIA AND POLAND.

Mode of Travelling in Russia—Regulation of the Post—Characteristic Knavery of the Peasants—Jewish Settlers—Mglin—Starodoub—Citadels—Rude State of the Country People—Vapour Baths—Tchirravitch—Remains of the Tartars—Caravans—Pilgrims—Tchernigoff—Kiev—Sacred Catacombs—Ancient Churches—Hindoo Architecture—Origin of Pointed Style—Trade—Passage of English Goods excluded by the French Decrees—Fair—Poland—Jews of Zytomir—Dress—Novgorod Volhynski—Face of Country—Dubno—Austrian Poland—Brody—Lemberg—Trade of Jews, &c.—Commerce in Grain—Condition of the lower Classes—Polish Chateau—Visit to the Countess Potochki at Tulchyzu—Her Establishment—Society—Levee—A Marriage—A Party to the Chase—Wielicsa—Salt-mines—Duchy of Warsaw—Cracow, present State of—Quarter of the Jews—Their oppressed Condition—Their Antiquity—Polish Nobility and Vassals—Costume—Feelings of the Country with regard to late Events, &c.—Bielitz.

The strong hold of Smolensko was formerly the theatre of many a sanguinary combat between the rival Poles and Russians, but all interest in those times was merged in the greatness of modern events. Having gone over, therefore,

whatever was pointed out to our notice as bearing reference to this object, we set out on our road for the south. Kiev was our next place of destination: the line of route lay through an unfrequented tract, and we were threatened with all those unpleasant circumstances of accompaniment, that render travelling in Russia, in general, so disagreeable.

It is a rare case that travellers really endure all the evils which the ill-boding stories of their friends predict; but we had already some experience of the nature of Russian travelling, and exaggeration was not needful. From Moscow to Smolensko, a journey of 384 versts, had occupied six days, with little other intermission than the delay arising from the difficulty of procuring horses; and a week was hardly deemed sufficient for the accomplishment of 650 versts, through a country, not exhausted indeed, like that we had just quitted, but which, from its poverty and unfrequented state, was ill provided with accommodation. "All the way," says Ant. Jenkinson, who travelled in Russia during the 16th century, "I never came in house, but "lodged in the wilderness by the river's side, and carried "provision for the way,—for there be small succour in "those parts" The condition of these tracts is not even now much altered. Nevertheless, we set out on our road, and after a tedious journey of a day and night, by dint of a few roubles, a little wrangling, a little cudgelling, and a little patience, arrived safe at Roslavle.

At this town, as at the lone posthouses of the previous

stages, it was by no means easy to procure provisions: meat we carried with us; but the articles of bread, milk, and coffee, which we thought to have purchased easily in any quarter, were for some time denied us, and given at last with an evident air of reluctance.

This sullenness and inhospitality is a consequence that arises naturally out of the habits of the country. Every native, when on a journey, carries with him his own food, as well as other articles of which he may stand in need; and since it is usual with a Russian to take his own bed, even when on a visit at a friend's house, it is not surprising that he should be worse furnished for his route. Hence neither bed nor board are to be met with, and the demand for such articles is viewed by the landlord of a public house as something unreasonable.

The same is the practice of every family who take their departure from Petersburg or Moscow to their residences in the more distant parts of the provinces. Nothing, indeed, can be conceived more independent than the appearance of one of these patriarchal circles at halt on the road. We passed, near Roslavle, a seigneur of some distinction, travelling, with a large family. The carriages, six in number, were ranged in a row; at a little distance a fire was lighted, round which a score of domestics were employed in cooking dinner; still farther, under the shade of the trees, he, with his children, and several ladies, were seated, regaling themselves on the provisions they had brought; and the horses, near thirty in number, were browsing hard by.

These steeds are in general private property, for it would be impossible to be furnished with such a supply by the way. We found that the post-horses, notwithstanding our podaroshna*, were perpetually withheld from us, yet for this some sort of excuse may be offered. It is as necessary that the means of intercourse should be facilitated in this country, as it was before remarked to be indispensably requisite for the public benefit in Sweden. But though the reason is the same, the remedy is not administered in so salutary or efficacious a mode. The Russian government issues orders that a certain number of horses shall be maintained on the several roads, for the use of the post and the couriers; for this a regular compensation is made, and though the number varies, as well as the proportions of payment, according to the circumstances of each district, we may lay it, perhaps, at 1000 roubles per annum, on an average for six horses, which is the least number any where kept up. When these are not employed on government duty, they are let out to hire for the benefit of the postmaster, charging always, however, at a certain fixed rate: on the chief roads five copecks per verst, on the cross roads, as here, only three.

If these horses are really engaged, the postmaster offers to procure for the traveller *isvoschtschik* (or hired peasants' horses,) which is always done at an advanced

* This is an order for horses from the crown, at receiving which you lay down the amount of duty, instead of paying it, as in England, to the postmaster.

price. As far as it was in our power to judge, a fair compensation would be about fifteen copecks per verst, but they frequently demanded eight or ten times this sum, and contented themselves with merely the double. This difference between the natural price and that established by law is the cause of constant wrangling and chaffering; but it was satisfactory to us to see that other travellers besides ourselves, even the natives, were in places obliged to submit to the same imposition.

I might state instances of oppression in this line, which would seem almost to justify extortion. Since an allowance for the post is made on the part of the crown, it happens, in some places, that the seigneur, actuated by a disgraceful spirit of meanness, takes the stipend to himself, and then, in order that the duties of the post may not be neglected, lays the burden of furnishing the necessary horses on one of his own peasants. The poor man's cattle, therefore, are not only obliged to do this duty, but also, as belonging to the posthouse, must lie at the mercy of every traveller who offers three copecks per verst for their hire; and as may be supposed, the greatest resistance is always shewn in such a case to the demand.

The cautious and cunning management of a Mougik, while striking his bargain on these and similar occasions, is one of the most entertaining pieces of comic acting that can be conceived. With a well-told story of distress, implying the difficulty, or perhaps the utter impossibility of his satisfying your demand, he leads you to pause for a mo-

ment on your own apparent unreasonableness; and it may be too he succeeds in gaining your good opinion so far as to recommend himself for a seeming character of frankness and honesty. Three couriers had been forwarded that morning—two more expected—no horses for them on their arrival: he lost a large stud, which was carried off by the French, or died of a contagious disease. His wife and children are starving, because he cannot send his cart to replenish his store of rye meal; but he promises, if the stranger will wait three hours, to find him some horses, which he passes off as belonging to one of his neighbours; and having received one rouble for his trouble, will charge only ten extra for their use. On the completion, however, of the bargain, the half suppressed smile of triumph breaks forth from the rogue as he turns away his head, and informs the traveller at once of the successful deceit that has been practised upon him; but the *argumentum baculinum*, if well applied, materially alters the features of the case in every stage, and sets at nought the starving children, the expected courier, or the impracticability of his wishes.

In the trading towns the system of deceit is carried to a still greater degree of perfection, as may be imagined; but that it should prevail in the country, is a fact which fixes it at once as a trait of character peculiar to the nation: so natural, indeed, and habitual is it become, that the very children of whom we bought strawberries on the road would haggle and chaffer, consult with one another, and reconsider our offers, with the most amusing dexterity. One may venture,

from the instances we saw in both old and young, to assert, that not the Chinese themselves, or any other orientals, are greater adepts than the Russians in the school of fraud and artifice.

At one of the lonely stations in this province, where we stopped to change horses, we were much surprised by the extraordinary neatness and cleanliness that appeared, as well as civility and kind attention which we experienced from our hosts. To our surprise, they readily furnished us with milk, eggs, quass, &c.; pointed out a comfortable corner in their wooden cabin, entirely free from dirt, and seemed almost (as the phrase is) to take a pleasure in setting before us whatever they could offer for our service. Nor were they, for their circumstances, ill supplied. Although the whole prospect in front was wild as nature, they shewed us, on walking behind the house, a little garden full of every sort of vegetable, with a neat farm-yard, well stocked with cattle, and kept in admirable order. To unravel this mystery, we found, on further conversation, the owner was a freed man. He had formerly lived as a servant in a Russian nobleman's family, where he acquired a sort of polish; and taking a fancy to marry and settle in the world, he purchased his liberty, and procured a farm in this remote spot, apart from the vexations of the district officers, and still more rapacious agents of the police. He appeared, it might be urged, a striking example of the improvement in moral condition as in wealth which these people might even now be made capable of receiving: but I fear it was one of those rare

instances of a fortunate combination of circumstances, from whence no general argument could safely be drawn.

July 16.—We now entered the government of Novgorod Sieverskoi, the limits of which we passed at no great distance from Mglin. This was a wretched wooden town, sprinkled over the slope of three small hills, and containing very few regular streets; nothing of decent appearance, or even of Russian finery, was discernible, except in the churches. It was here we first observed the houses of Jewish settlers: Peter the Great, it seems, forbad their residence in his dominions, "because," said he, "my people have craft enough in their dispositions already;" yet they are now admitted, without reserve, into the districts bordering on the provinces of Russian Poland. As far as our experience went, Peter I. spoke too modestly of the subtilty of his subjects: they had nothing to learn from the Jews, and we thought ourselves much less liable to be cheated in their hands than those of the natives, feeling delighted whenever the chance of the road threw us into their way.

It was no slight satisfaction, when traversing so remote a country, to observe a people, with whose singular customs and ceremonies one was in some degree familiarised at home, differing only in some trifles of their dress, and what is indeed more essential, the higher character which they seemed here to maintain. They considered themselves as a race far superior to the native rustics, domineering over them in the most authoritative style; nor were their

pretensions ill founded, for they owned no masters, but were in the full enjoyment of their personal liberty. The gipsies, or *Bohemiens*, as they are called, are another migratory race that claimed from us the same local associations and recollections; but they are not very numerous, or indeed very often to be met with.

Staradonb was the next town at which we arrived: though a place possessing not above 600 inhabitants, it displays, in several of its buildings, certain pretensions to antiquity. It was the appanage of Ivan, a son of Vsevolod, Grand Duke of Kiev, at the beginning of the 13th century, and its name occurs again in the Russian history, as the opening scene of the imposture of the second false Demetrius. As to appearance, the quarters now inhabited were almost entirely built of wood, the houses chiefly of one story, and divested of paint or any other decoration; their streets extremely irregular, looking as if formed without a plan.

There was one striking feature, however, which I cannot avoid mentioning. Just upon the skirts of the town rose an high earthen hill, with the appearance of having been rudely fortified. It was similar, in most respects, to what we had before observed at Viasma, Dorogobusch, Mglin, &c; in all of which, a church seemed the only object which occupied the area of the platform at top. The sides of the hill were neatly cut to a slope, in the same way as the donjon in our ancient Norman fortresses, in England; not being wholly artificial, but a natural elevation, of which advantage had been taken. At Roslavle (where nevertheless no church

was now standing within the precincts) there was a large mound of more than 100 yards square, shaped with precision and regularity. The Kremlin at Novgorod Veliki, and that at Moscow, are similar elevations, only varying by the greater extent of their dimensions, by being walled around, and by containing other public buildings, of which, however, the church occupies the most conspicuous situation.

From the date of the towns where they are found, as well as from concomitant circumstances, we should be inclined to annex some idea of superstitious protection to these spots, and to view them, not only as citadels, but as sanctuaries or places of refuge during the constant civil wars and broils that disgrace the early Russian history.

The institutions of the police, which may prove either the blessing or curse of the first steps of civilization, according to the use that is made of them, seemed here calculated to introduce the exercise of a most detestable petty tyranny over the peasantry of these remote spots: the lowest halberdier scarce ever spoke to a rustic without adding a blow. Where they lived apart from the towns, these miserables, we thought, led a much more comfortable and easy life.

It is clear that neither the advantages nor disadvantages of civilization extended to any great distance from the larger towns: the country shewed only as one large plain, intersected with rivers, bogs, and forests: the up-

lands were generally of a light sandy soil, but in very few parts did they exhibit any signs of culture, or even habitation. Nothing could be more strikingly wild than our passage over the Ypoote: a raft of trees loosely pinned together was provided; a rope made from the bark of trees served for its draught: on either bank of the river rose a vast forest, not thick and luxurious, but bared in many a line by the progress of age and decay: amidst its shades were seen the white shirts and black fur caps of the Tartars as they scampered along in the wantonness of sport, with their horses at full speed; their caravan, just arrived, was ranged on the river side, and the oxen were seen every now and then, as the raft put off, plunging into the stream, and swimming to the opposite shore.

In a country of this description it cannot be that any great progress should have been made in the arts of civil life. Mechanical contrivances of any sort do but little to occupy the minds of the villagers: their plough is the same as the rude instrument represented in Egyptian sculpture, or rather that of the Georgics of Virgil; a wooden hook turned downwards, armed with iron, and sometimes with two twigs tied on the back as handles or tillers. Their harrows were simple hurdles, in which the ends of the twigs being bent downwards, performed the office of teeth. Boats of one piece, rudely hollowed from the trunk of a tree, were common both on the Soz and on the upper part of the Desna; and the only skill of workmanship which

displayed itself was in the carve work that ornamented the bodies of their carts, or the gable ends of their houses, and these were sometimes very elaborate.

The interior of the dwellings was in the same unfinished style as what we had before seen: the walls of logs were not even lined with planks; the moss that caulked the interstices hung out in shreds and patches, nor was the appearance at all correspondent to the degree of attention which seemed to have been bestowed without.

The whole family slept in the same room, on mats, or straw, or sheepskins, and the men generally in their day-clothes; but the favourite station for the night was on the ledge of the stove, or *lejanka*, which is always raised with a few bricks on a slope at one extremity, in order to supply the place of a pillow.

Where an infant child was seen, it was packed with a few clothes on a square canvass frame, and suspended by strings to a nail in the wall or the ceiling: a horn, having a small aperture at the bottom, and closed at top, was filled with milk, that being suspended over its head, it might indulge itself in sucking at pleasure.

Rye cakes, or black sour bread of the same grain, with a little salt to give it a flavour, formed their chief diet; to this was added cabbage broth, or *schstchi*, thickened with oatmeal, and perhaps a little meat: all this is procured at an easy rate; and during the several periods which the rites of the Greek church prescribe certain rules of abstinence, (for these materially diminish the expenses of the poor

man's housekeeping), their ordinary meals may be procured at an extremely reasonable price.

The only attempt at manufacture to which I was an eye-witness was the making of oil from linseed, the plant being much cultivated in these provinces. The stamper was a beam of wood fastened to a branch of a tree, forced down by strength of hand, and recoiling again by natural elasticity; a simple contrivance enough, but it is worth observing how nearly this machine resembles in construction the apparatus, even at this day, used in our English oil-mills.

As to the moral effects of civilization, such as a sense of modesty or delicacy, this was still less to be traced in their manners; men, women, and children were bathing promiscuously on the road side, and very rarely indeed did they betray any wish to conceal their nakedness on the approach of strangers: the same was the case at Moscow, only that of the two, the people of the country displayed, perhaps, a greater portion of shamefacedness. They had in general brown sallow complexions, but not of unhealthy appearance; nor, except the marks of scrofula or sometimes the limbs of a few persons crippled by the winter frost, did we see any examples of malady or suffering. Of the latter some victims appeared in almost every place which we passed from Petersburg downwards.

The venereal complaint, when it shews itself, as it sometimes does, makes dreadful ravages. The person infected has as little chance of being cured here as a poor savage of

the South sea islands. Ignorant in himself, and unable to obtain the assistance of those who are better informed, he acts according to the usage of the country, and endeavours to close the ulcer by fumigation with cinnabar, or some other similar application, that heals the sore to the eye without effecting any radical cure. The consequences may be imagined: cases have sometimes been sent to the provincial hospitals, where people have been discovered to have laboured under this malady for upwards of fifteen years.

The villages were more mean in their appearance than those of the wealthier governments comprehended in our previous route; yet even here there was one luxury which never seemed to be wanting, and there was no hamlet, however inconsiderable, but was provided with the universal indulgence of a vapour-bath. In some conspicuous spot one might espy, towards evening, the wooden hut pouring forth steam from every chink and cranny; generally surrounded by seminudes, with their leafy rods in their hands, joking and sporting with each other unconcerned. The universal prevalence of the practice is remarkable. Towards the end of the week the Mougik complains that his skin begins to itch, and, whether it be summer or winter, his first leisure hour, if he possess but three copecks, is employed in the bath. The process here undergone has been often described: to judge from its effect on myself, I can only say, that being heated as in general to 120° Fahrenheit, or 130° Fahrenheit, it is far from affording to a

stranger any very great gratification. At first, it is true, a luxurious sense of lassitude comes on, but this is succeeded by an oppressive debility, which continues so long that should be very unwilling to undergo its discipline a second time; the body is completely exhausted by the strong temporary stimulus which is applied: its power indeed may be imagined from the well known fact, that it is the common custom, with the lower classes of people, to roll in the snow in winter time, immediately on leaving the bath: nor is the sudden change ever succeeded by illness, or productive of the least inconvenience.

The heat of the atmosphere was in this month very great, the mercury standing at upwards of 80° Fahrenheit in the shade; and this sort, therefore, of vapour-washing, which is so universal in hot countries, seemed nothing more than the natural course of things. But to what can we ascribe its adoption in the northern districts, in Finland, in Ingria, at Archangel, where it is as constantly applied during the eight months winter, as throughout the short period of their summer? Unable to form a judgment of its medicinal advantages, it remains only to say that it is not from the physical necessities of a cold climate that it has been put in practice. It is not common in Sweden or Canada, countries nearly parallel in point of latitude, and suffering the rigour of seasons equally severe. But probably, like many other customs of the Russian nation, the use of the bath was borrowed from the habits of their eastern or southern neighbours, and

thence been gradually extended by fashion and imitation over the whole empire.

July 18.—Our days passed here under much the same circumstances: the morning breaks, and we waken as the carriage stops at the end of the stage: the musquitoes begin to allow us some respite from their torment—the peasants bawl out their uncouth airs as they drive a-field—the Jew puts on his phylactery, and mutters his orisons—the caravan driver is heard bustling among his horses—and after a refreshing sleep, in which the turmoils of the foregoing day were forgotten, we look forward to a more comfortable journey;—but soon vexations begin anew—no horses are to be had, and breakfast is denied; after much trouble we drive another stage, but still the same complaints accompany us; we at last contract with some old woman of the village for a few eggs and a little coffee; thence proceeding to a third station, we find a Jew's house situated in a large town;—it is early in the day, but the opportunity is not to be lost, and we order dinner, a comfortable meal in the German fashion;—while again waiting for horses, we amuse ourselves in sketching some of the objects around; the police officer interferes,—we are taken to the governor, are acquitted, and conclude by drinking tea with his family: we set out a fourth time, and make one more stage—again no horses—the post-house a lone habitation in the woods; we are constrained to wait, and pass the night sleeping on the road, or in the carriage: and so on, with little variety or relief.

Tchirravitch was a large village of Sieverskoi, wildly

scattered on the banks of a lake: it was here we remarked the recurrence of the same style of ornamented gables overhanging the cottage front which had appeared in the government of Novgorod; though not so profusely carved, or built on so large a scale. The *tumuli* too, or barrows similar to those we had before seen, were common in the plains; and these two circumstances, accompanying each other, since this district, as well as the former, had been visited by the Tartars, seemed favourable to the opinion of those, who attribute both the introduction of one and the other to that race of people.

These barrows, besides other parts, are of frequent occurrence in the eastern side of the government of Moscow: one of them, which lay on the estate of Count Romanzov, was opened a few years since, when it was found to contain the skeleton of a man placed in a horizontal posture, with a stone at his head, and another at his feet: many silver ornaments, which were recognised to be of Tartar fashion, were also discovered in the course of the excavation.

No place which we had seen exhibited so great a number as the plains of Sednovo, in the government of Tchernigoff, where they completely covered the ground to a considerable extent around the town: there were also some remains of earthen walls, probably erected in former days as a defence against the predatory excursions of their neighbours, and which at least bespoke the antiquity of the settlement.

The grounds marked out by these *tumuli* were selected

I. T. Jones del.t

I. Clark sculp.t

as favourite places of interment by the natives at the present day: often being planted around with trees, and studded thick with wooden crosses, oratories, and other permanent marks of reverence. The general appearance of piety with which they are kept up, their sequestered situation apart from any town, the profound veneration with which they are saluted by the natives, added to the dark and sepulchral shade of the groves, lent them an interest with which the tinsel ornaments of more gorgeous cemeteries can in no degree compare.

The caravans that we met on the road were extremely numerous, more so than even on the line from Petersburg to Moscow. We frequently encountered eight or ten each day, consisting of thirty, or forty, or sometimes an hundred carts. A few were travelling towards Petersburg, drawn by the mouse-coloured oxen of the Ukraine, that were themselves destined for the market, as well as the goods they conveyed: but the greater part came with horses, and were bound for Riga, bringing cargoes of the various produce of the southern provinces. Occurring under various circumstances, they contributed to enliven our cheerless route, now drawn in long lines across the plain, now grouped in a body at halt, their cattle reposing in the shade; at another time we heard them at a distance, the loud shouts of their drivers echoing among the woods; or again, we saw them ranged in a circle around their fires for the night. The wild looks of the people, many of whom were Tartars, improved the effect of this spectacle; though I cannot say

that their employment at the evening resting-place would add much to the delicacy of the picture, as it was usually an exhibition of naked men divesting their bodies of vermin.

Besides these, there was but one other sort of company whom we passed on the road;—those who were making a pilgrimage to the sacred relics at Kiev. They were mostly persons of the lower classes of life, travelling on foot: we fell in, however, at Tchernigoff, with a family of respectability, who were bound on the same errand: they consisted of the seigneur of a considerable property in the government of Moghilev, with a young wife and two children. He had been, as he informed us, an officer of the army, having served under Kutusov at the unfortunate battle of Austerlitz; but though he seemed a very well disposed man, I am apt to think it was chiefly the piety of his spouse that had induced him to set out on this excursion. The old soldier, liking ease, furnished his carriage with the luxurious indulgence of soft pillows, with which it was completely filled: a practice that, notwithstanding its being in conformity with Russian fashions in general, was surely very reprehensible in a pilgrim.

We met also at Tchernigoff several bodies of prisoners, who were on their return to France, having been discharged by the Emperor's late proclamation. It was amusing to observe the manner in which they received the news of the success of the allies; and, as if their affection was fed by the recollection of what they had suffered for him, they all spoke in

terms of the highest admiration for Buonaparte, and devotion to his cause. The common men could not be brought to believe that he had ceased to reign: they supposed, they said, the allies had been forced to sue for peace, and, on having obtained it, claimed a victory:—that the war was at an end was evident, but for the rest, it was quite impossible. The officers spoke of the new situation of things as a temporary change in the affairs of the great nation; and some few, in the true style of gasconade, talked with infinite assurance of a second future visit to the Russian dominions.

Tchernigoff, the capital of the government of that name, is a handsome, neat-built town, upon the banks of the Desna. It was formerly the appanage of one of the sons of Jouri Dolgoroucki (or Longimanus); for in this manner most of the chief towns and districts of Russia seem at one time to have been separated from the crown: they have been all, however, in subsequent reigns reunited, and in general by force of arms. Tchernigoff afterwards passed into the hands of the kings of Poland, and was only given up by them, together with Smolensko and Kiev, in 1686, as the price of the accession of Russia to an alliance formed with that nation and the republic of Venice against the Ottoman power.

The city of Kiev, to which we were now approaching, is called the cradle of the Russian sovereignty: its foundation is referred to a colony of Sarmates, who came hither at a time antecedent to the Christian æra; these were expelled by the Slaves; who, being driven from their former settle-

ments by the Romans, about the year 400 A.D., divided into two distinct parties, and established themselves in this country; the one at Kiev, the other at Novgorod on the Ilmen. In the ninth century, the prince of Novgorod, with the assistance of Oleg his guardian, perfidiously made himself master of Kiev; and the city became, from that day, the seat of the united sovereignty of the two powers. The grand dukes constantly made it their residence, till it was ruined and depopulated by the incursions, first, of the Lithuanians, and afterwards of the Tartars. In consequence of the waste thus occasioned, Andre Jourievitch transferred the seat of power in 1156 to Vladomir; whence it was again removed to Moscow, and then finally fixed at Petersburg.

Amidst the toils of a long journey, oppressed by the constant heat of the climate, and wearied with the restless travelling of many days and nights, there are yet some few moments when the local interest of a particular spot, heightened perhaps by the accidental glow of sunset, or other adventitious circumstances, has power to excite a sentiment of ecstacy that amply compensates all the privations and inconveniences one had undergone. The imagination, which riots to satiety on the battle-ground, or dwells with rapture on proud memorials of ancient art, may yet feel a quiet enjoyment in the contemplation of a scene which appears to lull in harmonious repose all the higher feelings of our nature. Such was the delight with which we closed our journey on the evening of the 19th. The Dnieper rolled at

our feet, a smooth majestic river, of more than a verst in breadth; on its banks was a caravan of Tartars and Russians, listening to the simple notes of the *balalaika*; above our heads rose a long range of hills encircled by a rich foliage of trees and crowned with the gilt domes of the sacred city.

We crossed the ferry, and toiled up the steep ascent, over a road as usual covered with planks. Arrived at the top, a new scene presented itself: the cupolas that before were but as spots in the view, faced us with a blaze of gold, and a thousand gay colours dazzled the eye: the country below shewed one unvaried plain of immeasurable extent, covered with a thick forest, through the middle of which the Dnieper, now dwindled to a streamlet, was seen winding its silvery path into the horizon: it was a land seemingly untouched by man, and affording a prospect as wild to appearance as any that the most uncivilised tracts of America could furnish.

It is fair to bring to the reader's recollection a well known story of Catherine II. Arrived at this spot, in the course of her southern tour, she demanded of the three ambassadors who accompanied her what they thought of the country before them. Count Cobentzel was enraptured with what he saw. M. Segur said much might be made of it in the course of time. Mr. Fitzherbert (Lord St. Helens) declared the place was detestable, and the view nothing extraordinary. The Empress said with a smile—"*Le Comte Cobentzel est un courtisan; M. Segur est un homme poli; mais M. Fitzherbert est un homme vrai.*"

After a passage through such tracts, almost any opinion may be ventured in their dispraise, however they may attract attention when mellowed and softened by distance.

Our first duty on the following morning, in the true spirit of pilgrimage, was to pay a visit to the catacombs. Upon proper application being made at the fortress, within which the monastery is situated, we were admitted; and received infinite gratification from all we saw. The entrance was beset with a numerous crowd, the purchasers and venders of crosses, relics, and various other articles of superstition: the walls of the court were covered with huge religious paintings; and numberless pilgrims, of both sexes, were assembled in groups, reading, admiring, bowing, praying. The pictured stories were chiefly selected from the legendary tales of the lives of the saints: on one side was represented the virgin Theodosia, accompanied at each stage of her life (a continued series of temptation) by two guardian angels, and three or four ministers of darkness; the devils always defeated, the angels ever triumphant; and in the last painting she was represented as having surmounted all her difficulties, and arrived in heaven. The artist's imagination, however, has somewhat failed, and seems not quite to have seized, on this occasion, the true notion of the sublime, or the beautiful; but we should recollect that, in the Russian vocabulary, the terms *beautiful, red* and *coloured* are all three represented by the same word, so that a confusion of ideas might easily occur.

On another side an old miser is seen on his death-bed:

the company surrounding him are, as before, angels and devils; the latter, being very urgent to seize upon his parting soul, are prevented by the former, who claim him to themselves, because, forsooth, he had bequeathed a large sum by will to the monastery. The devils, thus disappointed, peruse the will and codicil with much earnestness and apparent chagrin. The moral of the tale needs no explanation.

The profound respect and awe impressed on the countenance of every one we met lent an air of solemnity even to their ludicrous superstitions; and a stranger almost felt inclined to chide himself for making a visit of mere curiosity. Our meditations, however, on this singular spectacle were interrupted by our guide arriving to inform us the priest was waiting to conduct us to the relics. We descended a long staircase *en ramp*, to the mouth of the sacred catacomb, and formed into a regular procession; each bareheaded, with a lighted taper in his hand. It was a labyrinth mined in the solid rock, consisting of walks, chambers, branches, &c., ascending and descending for the distance of several hundred yards; the passage about six feet wide, and coved at the top; its sides neatly plastered and stained with a black wash; the flooring laid with iron plates about a foot square. The remains of seventy-three saints, or primitive Christians of Russia: the objects of veneration were deposited in semicircular niches that occurred at intervals on the passage. These personages were the same who once found an asylum here while alive, at a day when

the unsettled nature of the times rendered them liable to perpetual persecutions abroad. The bodies were wrapped round and bandaged up with swathings of silk after the fashion of mummies, though no part, not even the face, was left visible: what was within, I know not; but they were scattered over with pieces of money, the offerings of the devotees. The coffins, which were always left open, were of an oblong square figure, decreasing in breadth from the head downwards, adorned on the interior with flowers of gold painted on a red ground.

St. Anthony is the chief and patron saint: we were first shewn his oratory, and the cell in which he dwelt, say they, forty years, which, in memory of the holy man, the monks are constrained to visit at least twice every day. Next we proceeded in regular order to the shrines of St. Precop, St. Polycarp, St. Theodore, St. Luke (the Russian), St. Nicholas, who died at the distance of 3000 versts, and was wafted hither by the angels in one hour; St. Mark, who, to outdo all other acts of abstemiousness, never drank even of pure water oftener than once each day, and then only the contents of a small cruise made in the shape of a cross, containing about a gill in quantity: and of a certain St. John who was pointed out, being buried up to his shoulders in earth; a penance which he imposed upon himself for forty days, when he expired. Here we halted, and the priest, placing the saint's cap on our head, gave us (for it was the custom of the place) a short blessing. The only other persons whose good works entitled them to look for repose here, were the

twelve men of Constantinople who excavated this subterraneous retreat, about 800 years ago: their bodies were seen collected together in one chamber, and were the last of the series that were shewn us.

On our return to the realms of day, we heard the chant of mass sounding from the church of the monastery, and thither we instantly repaired. The ground plan of this building was the same, as to distribution, which seems commonly to have prevailed in all the older Russian churches; a Greek cross divided by four square pillars in the centre, with a vestibule or parvis, one arch in breadth, advanced in front; the rood was, according to custom, covered with three several ranges of pictures of saints, in compartments of rich gilt carved work, profusely interspersed with pearls, lapis lazuli, turquoises, enamel, &c. and exceeding, in gaudy costliness, whatever we had before seen displayed. As for the people whom we found assembled, they completely filled every part of the area: a herd of pilgrims, habited in all the various costumes of the southern provinces of the empire. Some of them were said to have made a journey on foot of fifteen hundred versts, in order to discharge their vows at Kiev: and indeed their lank worn looks and tattered garments seemed, in many instances, to bespeak the toilsomeness of their undertaking. While their devotions detain them here, they are for the most part obliged to lie out at night, being destitute of money to pay for lodging, and by day only perhaps once

receive refreshment, at the gratuitous repast which is provided by the Emperor in the refectory of the monastery. But the enthusiasm, devotion, and superstition of a Russian is easily able to surmount all these difficulties; and there is scarce a person in the south, either of those who have sins to expiate, or of those whose quiet and holy life requires some notable act to grace its monotonous career, but imposes on himself, at one time or other, the task of performing this burdensome act of over-zealous piety.

From hence we visited the churches of St. Sophie, and of the miraculous St. Avare in old Kiev, where ends the ordinary course of pilgrimage.

The former is the oldest church in the Russian dominions, and though not, as is said, built strictly after the model of the famous church of the same name at Constantinople, yet was, no doubt, the work of architects who came from thence; and bears on the interior many traces of Byzantine architecture. It is, however, almost a singular instance of that style; while the fashions and taste of those oriental nations, whose character is so strongly imprinted in the lineaments of the Russian visage*, are easily recognised in the more durable monuments of architecture.

* The general character of the Russian countenance differs as much from the European face as the Mantshoo Tartar from the Mongol, or Chinese from the Hindu; and may be said to bear the same genuine character as the two former of these nations. The Russian face is marked by high, broad cheek bones, and a short triangular form of face.

The Gostinnoi dvor, or square market-place, which we see in every town, constructed with double arcades, one above the other, as in an eastern bazar; the bulging form of the cupola, the thick ballister-shaped column, the pagoda fashion of the old steeples, and other peculiarities, sufficiently point out the source of that taste in which their edifices were first conceived. And many of these points, which may be said to be almost universal throughout Russia, will be found to agree with the character of the Hindu architecture, as depicted in the beautiful plates of Mr. Daniel.

I should suspect that the style in use, previous to the Tartar invasion, was of this description, and the church of Novgorod (if not the first erected church of Ivan, in the Kremlin at Moscow,) may be quoted in support of the notion. That a form and fashion of architecture should have been borrowed from them as teachers is by no means extraordinary*; we know that the only places in the adjoining districts of Tartary, where science and letters were cultivated, were settlements of the Hindus, who sup-

A learned prelate, who lately published at Petersburg *Recherches sur l'origine des Slaves*, considers them as of Medish origin, and of the same tribe with the Pelasgi.

* See Sir William Jones's Discourses, published in the Asiatic Researches. It is curious that at the remains of the monastic establishment of the Tartars at Semipalatnaia, in the province of Tobolsk, the chief books discovered were in the Mongolese and Tangout languages.

plied the hordes with all the learning and ingenuity of which we can discover any traces. On this supposition, if we extend the idea to the Golden horde of Bati, the Tartar invasion would have introduced little or no change in the Russian architecture: unless we attribute to them the introduction of the form of the mosque, which the later Russian church so much resembles in exterior.

It is impossible to avoid remarking that certain points of resemblance, between this style and that of the European pointed architecture, are to be observed here, as well as in Hindostan; we trace it in the high pointed, gable-headed windows, in the contrasted arch, in the long slender shafts of pillars in relief, in the broad astragals that intersect their length, and in the minutiæ of their ornamental carve-work: and one can imagine we see, though in a different stage of perfection, the same taste in building which has since made so great progress throughout Europe.

Infinite are the disputes that have arisen concerning the origin of this style: the English writer who is certainly best informed on the subject attributes its rise to the inventive powers of our native architects. I must add, in answer to this idea, that on my asking a well-informed German artist whence he thought it had sprung, he told me, without hesitation, it had received its birth on the banks of the Rhine; for the specimens found in that quarter were the purest and most elegant he had ever seen, and bore the strongest marks of originality. The reason he gave was

by no means ill imagined; but, no doubt, many other nations might put in their claims to the invention, on grounds equally strong.

I must confess that, in treating this subject, it seems rather absurd to limit the proofs of identity of style to the existence of a feature like the pointed shape of an arch, which was no uncommon form in any age, and may be traced in Roman monuments as well as those of an earlier date: but still more is it exceptionable to attribute the growth of this perfect system of architecture to a chance intersection of arches, to the groining of a roof, to the ramification of twigs, or such circumstances of accident. The distinguishing marks* of its early character are the pyramidal form, the infinite division of parts, and the profusion of minute ornaments, &c.; and these we shall find, if an argument may be drawn from thence, to be alike the essential characteristics of oriental fashion of almost every description.

Perhaps it will hereafter appear that the same eastern or primitive style, which we trace under similar features in the oldest monuments of the world, at Persepolis, in Egypt, and Hindostan, was in fact the prototype of the two chief prevalent styles of the present day; of both the Grecian

* The chief examples in Russia are to be seen in the western door of St. Sophie at Novgorod, the old church and other buildings in the Kremlin, at Moscow, in an old church in the southern quarter of the Semlianigorod, and in the old Tartar remains at Bolga; we trace a similar style of ornament in the carve-work of the ancient crown of the Khan of Casan, but that was probably of Mahomedan fashion.

and the pointed architecture: since we may discover in its lineaments strong features, not only of the one but of the other.

The rude and half-formed notions of taste, passing from Syria and Egypt into the hands of the polished Greeks, received, from the elegance and simplicity of that peculiar race, a new and graceful form; whence arose the finished symmetry of the Doric, Ionic and Corinthian models. On the other side, this style, when cultivated on its native ground, and nurtured among a people naturally ostentatious of finery and gaud rather than plainness, partook, in its change, of the form and impression which their habits imposed; it received that pointed character which prevails in every structure from the pagoda to the pyramid, and that lavish combination of gorgeous irregularities that belongs to orientalism.

When this taste, with many varieties, was diffused over the whole of Asia, it was transplanted to Europe by the devotees who frequented Syria, at a later epoch; among whom it was no uncommon practice to vow the erection of some religious building at their return to their home. It was not likely they should wish to adopt any fashion of architecture in preference to that which afforded so many associations with the sacred spot they had visited; and being thus received, we may suppose it assumed that beauty and perfection, which is peculiar to the architecture of the middle ages, in European hands, giving many distinct styles of this taste throughout different countries.

This digression has already gone too far: nevertheless, on the subject of religious buildings in Russia, one word more remains to be added. There is no traveller who has visited this empire without observing the curious ornament of the crescent surmounted by the cross, which adorns the domes of almost every church of any antiquity either at Moscow, or in the towns of the southern provinces. Several unsatisfactory conjectures have been made on this extraordinary union: some said the ornament was only given to those churches which had once served as mosques to the Tartars; others assigned different reasons, but all were equally unsatisfactory. We must not, however, forget that the crescent was not originally the device of the Turkish empire, but only adopted by the government after its establishment at Constantinople; because that city had borne it on her ensigns from the highest antiquity. The crescent was, therefore, probably introduced to Russia at a time coeval with the establishment of the cross, and might perhaps (for the schism took place soon afterwards) be considered as an emblem of distinction between the early Greek and the Romish churches.

The trade of Kiev, though it has attracted a few settlers from Germany, is extremely dull; it consists chiefly in exportation of corn and wood to the south, for which salt or money is received in exchange. But a very considerable business of transit had been carried on, through this place, during the last year or two. The articles of English manufacture, or the produce of our colonies, which the French prevented from being introduced by more direct means,

found their way into the interior of the continent, by the circuitous route of Riga or Petersburg, Moscow, and the south of Poland. Some parts of Austria and Germany were latterly supplied in this way; and the quantity of goods was so great, that a merchant, who had considerable dealings in this line, told me he had sometimes forwarded three or four hundred carts in a single day.

Expense of carriage, as was before remarked, is not very heavy; and these articles, when in large quantities, were forwarded under contract for three roubles and a half, or four roubles, each poud, (36 lb. English,) from Moscow to Kiev. As this distance is about 750 versts, or 500 English miles, the rate may be considered as something lower, in nominal value, than the average amount of the price of water carriage in England.

The necessaries* of life were much cheaper here than in any other town of Russia which had fallen within our route; though the inhabitants of Kiev complained that a great augmentation of prices in general had taken place, during the visit of the Empress Catherine, and that they never afterwards recovered their former value.

The town has become, within a few years, a place of greater resort than formerly; for the fair, which used to be held at Dubno, has been transferred hither by the emperor's command. It is to this the Polish nobles, and indeed

* Price of day-labour, (a slave, with a passport from his lord,) 50 copeks. Gold was cheaper here than in Poland, on account of the commerce with Odessa. The ducat was valued at 11 and a half paper roubles.

J. T. James del.t

L. Clark sculp.t

all the people of the country around meet for the sake of transacting business, and making leases or transfers of land, while at the same time the merchants attend with stores of provision for sale, which are purchased for the baronial household in the wholesale way; so the concourse is immense.

The resident population of Kiev, including its university, is supposed to be about 20,000; they inhabit, however, three distinct towns; the Perchask fortress, with its adjoining streets, standing upon the summit of a hill on the east; Old Kiev, with its Polish fortifications, lying to the west; and below, the Podolsk quarter; which last is in a dilapidated state, having suffered a dreadful conflagration about four years ago. Many houses had been renewed, but it contains nothing very striking, except the remains of some old Greek convents, and buildings of that nature. On ascending the hill from hence, the road passes near the spring where St. Vladomir baptised the first Russian converts: a column bearing a cross is erected over it to commemorate the pious act, as well as to record the former importance of Kiev as the seat of sovereignty.

July 23.—We now crossed the frontier of Poland, and passed from the land of the credulous to the habitations of the unbelievers, for every house we saw was in the hands of Jews. They seemed, indeed, the only people who were in a state of activity, exercising almost all professions, and engaged in every branch of trade; millers, farmers, whitesmiths, sadlers, drivers, ostlers, innkeepers, &c. Their constant bustle makes them appear more abundant in numbers

than they really are; and although the streets of Zytomir seemed full of them, we were informed that out of a population of 6000, not more than one third were of this sect, when we could easily have imagined the reverse.

The day of our arrival was the Sabbath, and the Jews were habited in their best garments for attendance at the synagogue. The married part of the community were distinguished from the rest, the men wearing a white shawl of muslin (or *tuch*) thrown over their long black mantle; which, with the addition of a bushy beard and a fur cap on the head, gave an air of no ordinary stateliness and dignity to their persons. This singular article is worn over the head or on the shoulders, according to fancy, and is a part of their dress on which they pride themselves highly, laying out sometimes as much as four hundred ducats or more in its purchase; the best are brought from Constantinople, and are of the finest texture, handsomely embroidered at the top. The married women too have their peculiar mark, which consists of a thin scarlet stripe of cloth, hanging in a horse-shoe shape over the front of their headdresses. The colour of their gowns is, in common, plain red or blue, with a short lappet of different colour pendent in front, and falling down over the bosom; but on this day they were more shewy in their appearance, bedizening themselves with laces of gold or silver: the chief expense, however, is lavished on their headdress, being, in the more splendid, a complete tissue of pearls. It is not unfrequent to see a woman of the lower class with

a cap of this sort, 3000 or 4000 ducats in value. They are not always the purchase of the wearer, but handed down in hereditary succession from one generation to another; and since as much pride is placed in their possession as in a pedigree, it would be difficult, indeed, to oblige a Jewess to offer one at any price for sale.

At the synagogue they were seated with their heads covered, employed in diligent perusal of the scriptures; the whole meeting gabbling aloud at once, each his chapter, and to our ears the ceremony sounded not unlike what we read of the confusion of tongues. Their phylacteries are only made use of in their private orisons, and are thrown on the head or borne upon the arm; they do not differ in other respects, it is true, but they seemed to be fashioned of a more Pharisaical breadth than those carried by the Israelites of Monmouth-street in London.

We could not help being very much struck with the beauty of this race of people, for they seem by no means to have degenerated by limiting themselves to intermarriage with their own breed. The character of countenance is from this circumstance almost invariably the same, though not in any way resembling what we call in England a Jewish turn of feature. The women were remarkably handsome, their persons large and full made, their faces very regularly formed, with black eyes and hair, set off with delicate complexions of white and red. The men tall and straight, but rather of a spare habit, their features small, and very much fashioned like that meek and placid

countenance which the Italian painters have invariably given to the picture of our Saviour. This peculiar style of visage, however, was gradually lost as we approached nearer to the confines of Germany, nor did it any where seem so prevalent as in this province.

Our journey was here rendered much more agreeable from the absence of the mosquitoes: these obnoxious insects had not ceased to torment us from the time we left Moscow, till we passed the Dnieper at Kiev; from that time it is singular that they partially intermitted their nocturnal visits, and after a few stages disappeared altogether; and we felt so well satisfied with the fact, that we made little or no enquiry after the reason: similar instances are, I believe, by no means uncommon.

The part we were now traversing was in general an uncleared tract of bog and wood: nothing occurred to cheer the way; we heard nothing but the crack of the driver's whip as it was echoed back from the depth of the forest; we saw no trace of human beings, but by chance here or there, under a tree, the mark of some lone traveller's fire. Our horses were usually changed at the end of the stage, in a sort of caravansera, which was a large barn upward of 200 feet in length, attached to the miserable hut of the post-master, and made capable of receiving all the carts and horses of the largest company. Among the first symptoms of the works of man, we observed the crosses that were erected at the junction of the by roads and in other spots; they were adorned in the true popish taste,

with the pincers, nails, sponge, and reed, inscription and ladder: tokens that were to be recognised as significant of a change at least in the forms of the superstition of the people whom we were about to visit.

After some dreary stages, we at last arrived on the rocky banks of the Slucz, and came in sight of the castle and scattered cottages of Novgorod, the worthy capital of the wild Volhynia. As we ascended the hill on which it is seated, we caught the sound of the "jocund fiddle," and the merry rustic step tripping it most lustily: we hastened to the cottage from whence it proceeded to indulge our curiosity, and found a party of Polish peasants entertaining their friends at a marriage feast, while the younger part of the company were performing the favourite national dance of the Mazurco. It was one of the most characteristic scenes of mirth in this line of life that I ever beheld: it is true the women were not handsome in their persons, or graceful in their movements, but so fully occupied with their amusement, and so wrapt up in this occasional enjoyment, that our intrusion passed unnoticed.

They were dressed in white chemises, with petticoats of blue, edged with borders of red, these being the favourite national colours of Poland; their hair was adorned with large wreaths of flowers, and a great profusion of ribbons of the same hues hung in stripes down their backs. The men were not so gaily attired, but they had shaved their chins, and this to strangers arrived from Russia was a gratifying mark of novelty.

We were here also agreeably surprised by hearing the chime* of bells once more; while the tones of the pealing organ that echoed the chant of vespers, from a venerable abbey church opposite to our hotel, seemed to welcome us to a more congenial country.

The Roman catholic is the established religion of Poland, though it is by no means so universal in the southern as, I believe, in the northern provinces. There was not a village we had yet passed (unless its population wholly consisted of Jews) but was provided with a Greek church: and it is from a date long antecedent to the usurpation of the Russians, that this form of worship has found numerous votaries in Volhynia.

We were much disappointed to hear that the great fair of Berditchev, which we intended to have visited from hence, was just terminated. Being an annual assembly of all the seigneurs of the country, with their families, who remain there, many of them, encamped for upwards of three weeks, it would have afforded an interesting example of national manners and customs. The chief sale is for horses; and there was a shew this year of upwards of 40,000: the saddle-horses bore a price of about 400 roubles each, those for draught not above half that sum; but the value of the former had been enhanced to near three times what they formerly bore, in consequence of the

* The Russians tie the clappers of six or eight bells to one rope, and ring them all together. In their churches no music but vocal is allowed.

large purchases made by the Prussian government for the late campaigns.

Thus having failed of our object, we had no alternative but to proceed to our next station at Ostrog, a place that was once enlivened by the residence of the Dukes of Ostrogski: it is now a jewish town, shewing only a few remains of its former consequence, in the ruins of its monasteries and the relics of its fortifications. The country hereabouts began to assume an appearance of fertility; there were some few meadow lands, but the rest almost wholly cultivated with grain. The houses on the road side were built of wood, in some instances, however, covered with plaster, and all certainly in far better condition than those we had seen on the other side of the Dnieper: the accommodation too afforded us at the inns was quite of a different description.

The town of Dubno had some shew of fortification; it was, in fact, formerly secured by regular works, to insure it against the incursions of the Turks, an enemy who now afforded no great source of inquietude. The place enjoyed a considerable trade before the late French decrees, which, though they had not succeeded in depriving these parts of their usual supplies, had nevertheless thrown the profit of the carrying trade into new channels. The removal of the fair to Kiev, also, as above mentioned, since it had formerly attracted near 30,000 people annually hither, put a finishing blow to the prosperity of Dubno.

Radzivilov was the frontier town of Russian Poland on the west, and this circumstance alone gave it any ap-

pearance of bustle and consequence. At our arrival we found the way was thronged with caravans of carts, and crowds of Italian prisoners on their return from Russia. The name of Englishmen, however, procured us attention; and having submitted to a trivial inspection of our luggage, and gone through the usual formalities of signature, &c. which are required for a Russian passport, we passed the barriers marking the line of demarcation, and arrived at Brody, the first town within the pale of the Austrian dominions.

We were here detained some days before a passport could be obtained from the governor of Gallicia, who resided at Lemberg, and thus were indulged with a longer stay than would have been agreeable, but for the wearisome nature of our previous journey. The town is chiefly remarkable as a colony of Jews, and we made the experiment of contracting with these people, who are a sort of *vetturini* in this country, for horses to carry us to Lemberg: they afford them at a cheaper rate than the regular post-house, but their plan is liable to many objections, and by no means to be recommended to a traveller. We set out again on the 31st of July, and in spite of the obstinacy of the driver and the drowsiness of his jaded steeds, we enjoyed this part of our journey very much. The well wooded hills rising above Sokolavla formed a pleasing change to our prospect, after the vast and uniform plain that we had traversed since we left the borders of Finland: and the country was not only varied in feature but fertile in production,

and the town of Lemberg itself struck us by its appearance, as singularly romantic and beautiful. It was embellished by an university, a large public library, a cathedral, &c. The private houses were extremely handsome and shewy in their exterior, being decorated in the ornamental style, so much in vogue throughout Germany. Indeed, generally speaking, a mixture of German fashions, customs, or, one may say, symptoms of improvement, seemed to dawn every where as we advanced, introduced through the patronage of the new government or the influx of Austrian colonists.

These intruders have, however, by no means been able to draw exclusively into their own hands the whole of the vast commerce which is afforded by the situation of Lemberg; it is largely participated by the Jews, as well as the Armenians and Greeks, both travellers and settlers. Their wine, corn, and wax, or coffee and sugars, &c. are brought, both for consumption here and as articles of transit: for the town is a common centre of intercourse for this part of the south, carrying on frequent communication with the ports of Riga on the north, and Odessa on the east. Through this last mentioned line, as well as from Salonichi, the colonial produce and British manufactures, which formerly were introduced through Vienna from Trieste, had chiefly made their way: another course for these commodities was before mentioned, but which also passed through Lemberg.

The Jews, never neglecting any mode of gaining money, however novel, had been very active in this business, and seemed severely to lament that commerce should be

on the point of being restored to its former channel: they would, indeed, on the ground of their late gains alone, in spite of the murmurs of the Sanhedrim at Paris, have almost idolised Buonaparte.

At the beautiful little village of Moscyko we observed again the Greek church surmounted with the crescent and the cross; for we were still within those tracts which formerly bore the name of Russia, and are supposed by some to have been originally colonised from Kiev: but here they terminated, and a bridge over the Sann near Premzyl was pointed out as marking the ancient boundary of this district, or Red Russia.

The bridges, which are generally of one arch, are built of timber, and fenced with wooden posts in front to ward off the ice, as it descends in heavy flakes during the winter flood; they are covered over at the top, in order to preserve the frame-work, much in the same way as those which may be noticed in several of the vallies of Switzerland. The principle of their construction is simple and ingenious: the real centre or key, if one may so say, of the arch of wood is at a point much elevated above the platform of the causeway; the several beams of support being inclined to it at different angles, and the apparent arch suspended from the strong frame-work which they afford. We had often observed bridges in Sweden built

* The exchange with England was quoted at 17 paper florins for 1*l.* sterling: but the Austrian paper currency only bore in reality 2-5ths of its nominal value.

upon the same plan; which I imagine gives greater strength of resistance than any other mode could effect with the same materials.

There were several detachments of Austrian troops on the road, as it seemed the design of government to form a strong cordon on the frontier of Gallicia: they were fine men, well mounted, and with their light-coloured clothes, their panaches of green leaves in their caps, and ropes of hay attached to the saddle bow, made extremely picturesque accompaniments to the road side.

As to the face of the country, it was every where covered with cultivation; it is scarcely possible, indeed, to form any estimate of the immense produce which these interminable plains must afford: from Ostrog to this place we had gone over a tract of inexhaustible agricultural resource: the land was frequently covered, as far as the eye could reach, with nothing but grain. The soil on which it grew was rather of a red colour with a texture slightly sandy, and was said to possess strength enough to yield the annual crop, without any other labour than that of the plough and the harrow: no manure is ever laid on, nor does the system even admit of a summer fallow: the course is simple, wheat, in one year; oats, (chiefly Tartarian) or rye, or buckwheat, or barley, in the next, and so on in alternate recurrence. Hemp and flax too are grown in some parts, giving a supply to some small manufactories in the neighbourhood. But though the aggregate produce of these

provinces is large, it is by no means abundant in proportion to the extent of land taken into cultivation: the appearance of these fields has but little resemblance to the full crops that attend the exertions of English husbandry, seeming every where thin and meagre: while five times the measure sown is reckoned throughout the country a return rather above the average produce: the remark, however, as to this deficiency will apply, I believe, with almost equal truth to many other parts of the continent. The seed wheat, they told us, was for the most part brought from the Bukhovine.

Grain is the chief article of trade in Poland, and upwards of 865,000 lasts are said to be annually exported: it is carried chiefly in boats down the rivers, thus finding its way to Dantzic, Pillau, Memel, Libau, Odessa, &c. Wheat is never grown but with this view, and often left to spoil or waste if no opportunity of sale occurs: yet it would be difficult to say at what price it is generally afforded, for all advices are here received from the lower country through the hands of the Jews, who are the factors, and as the selling prices vary not only in proportion to the urgency or slackness of the demand, but also to the honest or roguish representations of the above persons, the fluctuations in the same year are innumerable. The best bread, however, at Cracow I think I may state as being sold at a something cheaper rate than it was at Berlin during our stay, and the province of Bran-

denburg was the only corn district which we had before visited. Rye bread is the food of the country, and so much in use, that a slice is always placed at the table d'hote, together with the wheaten roll, much as it is the custom to give oaten cake in Scotland.

The tenure of land is nearly on the same conditions as in Germany, a portion being allotted to each slave, for which soccage service is paid to his lord. At this time they shewed themselves on the road side, employed in making hay, or in other works of the field, under the superintendance of the task-master; the tithe of the seigneur being regularly set out, with a bough stuck at the top of the cock, in the same fashion as it is the custom to mark the several decimations belonging to the church in England.

The condition of those of the poorer classes who are unable to labour is miserable enough; they are but slenderly provided for throughout the whole empire; a small rate for their support is levied on the houses of each parish, but extremely inadequate to its purpose. The roads, therefore, are constantly beset with beggars, mostly old men that have overlived the days of their strength, or been accidentally maimed. They stretched forth their hand with the beads and crucifix, and supplicated for charity in a tone of the most abject distress. Their favourite stations were seats under the image of the Virgin or some patron saint, figures that ornament almost every part of the Austrian provinces, and with these accompaniments they seldom failed to attract the notice of the traveller.

Scarce can one travel half a mile without seeing here one or more of these remnants of Catholic superstition, though they have been some years since swept away by modern revolutionary zeal, from most other Catholic territories. Scattered as they were over the fields, they had the appearance of Termini, or images of sylvan gods, the relics of classical paganism, rather than the monuments of any Christian form of worship.

As we entered a shady avenue in the environs of Landshut, we observed a handsome and spacious palace belonging to the ancient family of Lubomirski, which was the completest specimen we had seen of the old baronial style of magnificence. It was built by a famous Prince L. who commanded the Polish forces in the Turkish wars during part of the 17th century, and had the air of that splendid and grand style which might be supposed to be the order of the day when 5 or 6000 men in livery were at the beck of their seigneur. It was fortified with regular bastions, a rampart *revetted* with brick, and a broad ditch, as was the ordinary fashion: for it was necessary to be guarded against surprise, when the little feudal sovereigns of the neighbourhood were perpetually engaged in warfare with one another.

The present establishments of the nobility are still of a large scale, some of them now giving their livery to several hundred vassals, but the general system of life is reduced much nearer to the standard of the rest of Europe than it was in the days of the republic.

L.T. James del.t

I. Clark sculp.t

We do not hear of the villages of a great proprietor being burnt to revenge a personal insult offered to his neighbour, or of a wealthy Lubomirski being cut and hewn in pieces by an injured family of Mikolaievski. Still, however, these barbarities apart, something of their ancient manners may be traced in the appearance of state and grandeur yet kept up, and the modern establishment of a noble Polish family well merits attention.

For the following interesting account of a visit to the Countess Potocki I am indebted to the kindness of a friend who travelled in that country a few years since; and whose narrative has supplied me with that information which I stood in great need of, having been prevented by ill health from paying my respects in the same quarter.

"I look back with peculiar interest to the time which I spent in Poland, during my last visit to the continent; and the recollections of my sejour at Tulchyzn, (which was unexpectedly prolonged by the rupture between the two countries) rather resemble the visions of an enchanted palace than the sober reveries of an inquisitive traveller.

"My curiosity, I confess, had been greatly excited by all that I had heard and read, of the air of feudal state with which the Polish magnat is surrounded, when residing on his estates; and my visit to Madame P.—— by no means dispelled the illusions which my mind had formed on this subject. I was desirous of becoming in some measure acquainted with the habits and manners

which belonged to the nobles of our own country in an earlier period of the English history; and as many vestiges of the iron age are still to be traced in Poland, most strangely combined with the refinements of society in a later time, I had them, whilst at Tulchyzn, sufficiently brought under my view, with all the advantages of superior civilization, and increased means of enjoyment.

"That cumbrous magnificence and ostentatious hospitality which so strikingly pervades the spacious, though uncomfortable, dwellings of the grandees of Moscow, is displayed in a greater degree, if possible, by those Polish noblemen whose extensive possessions still allow them to keep up that profuse style of living and entertainment for which their ancestors were so peculiarly distinguished. The opulent representatives of this aristocracy are now few in number, and they must gradually disappear as estates become subdivided on the death of the great landed proprietors.

"Of this turbulent and restless body, so impatient of foreign rule, and so perfectly unfitted for that state of political ndependence which they are so anxious to enjoy, the great names who have chiefly figured in the various revolutions and convulsions of this unhappy country still support the ancient dignity and splendour of their houses. The Czartorinskis, the Lubomirskis, the Sapiehas, and the Potockis, may still vie with the Esterhazys and Palfys of Hungary; and as I apprehend that the race of powerful German barons, (though some may display as many quar-

terings as Candide gives to his patron) have ceased to exist in this "best of all possible worlds," on the extinction of the great Polish and Hungarian families above mentioned, we shall look in vain for that class of subjects, so princely in their establishments, so dangerous in the authority and means which they possessed.

"I arrived at Tulchyzn on the evening of the 31st December, 1806, having in my way from Odessa made an excursion to Bender, and having suffered all the minor inconveniences of delays and vexations in crossing the *Steppes*. The snow was already beginning to fall, and the following day it lay thick on the ground, where it remained most pertinaciously during the whole of my stay. I had little inducement, therefore, to stir out of doors, excepting for the sake of exercise, and no opportunity of forming any judgment of the state of cultivation in the country around.

"The palace is situated at the extremity of a large village, of which Madame P. is the sole proprietor; its inhabitants consist almost entirely of Jews, who, with their usual activity, carry on here every trade under heaven. I had occasion for a taylor to recruit my wardrobe, which had suffered materially by our late expedition over the mountains of the Crimea; and an artist was sent me of so respectable a description, as to set my mind quite at ease on this momentous point.

"At the back of the house, the ground was laid out somewhat in the manner of an English garden; its chief ornament, however, was a large piece of water, with a

greater number of poplars on its banks than good taste would have desired.

"This spot, as may be supposed, was, at the time of the year of which I am speaking, but seldom visited, and the large *place* before the palace became the chief *rendezvous*: here also, in the evening, an old carriage or two were constantly stationed, to convey those who lived in the wings to the main body of the building.

"The house is a handsome edifice of three stories, forming three sides of a square, of which the centre is entirely taken up by the apartments of the family, or by those which are appropriated for the reception of company: the wings, being almost exclusively devoted to the reception of strangers, are scarcely superior to the caravanserais of the East; for the rooms, although not entirely destitute of furniture, are most lamentably deficient in many necessary articles. A tawdry and tattered French bed, not intended for repose, (for as most travellers carry their own sleeping apparatus, a bedstead is all that it is considered necessary to provide) or perhaps a *chaise-longue* under equally equivocal circumstances, a couple of chairs, and a tottering table, a scanty carpet, and an unwashed floor,—all these inconveniences must be submitted to by him who ventures to explore the southern parts of the Russian dominions.

"Your vanity may perhaps find consolation for a time in surveying your figure in a looking-glass of the largest dimensions at the foot of your bed, or in contemplating the valuable lustre which may be hanging over your head. The

writing table which shakes at every motion of your pen, or the torn gilding of the chair which makes havoc with your dress every time that you rise, may probably shew symptoms of better days in their form, and the Parisian ornaments which still adhere to them; yet they, in the long run, but ill supply the place of more substantial comforts.

"You will say the visitor must fare badly in such quarters, and that the host is to blame in not correcting such disorder in his household establishment; but the fact is not so. No one can travel long in Russia without learning to establish himself in some degree of comfort under circumstances the most unpromising; and the delight of returning to civilized society makes up for many minor inconveniences. It must, too, be observed, that if the guest on his arrival be not provided with all that he requires, it is entirely his own fault if he long remain so. A Cossack attends constantly at his door (like a dog on the mat) to keep up the fire in his stove, and to execute those orders which his servant may be at a loss to perform. The maître d'hotel will either change his quarters, or will furnish him with such articles as are not to be found in those which he inhabits; and the cook and *caviste*, and the chief man in the stable, will attend daily to know his wishes in regard to his amusement in the morning, or his entertainment at night; and if inclined to dine in his rooms, and to see his friends there, instead of encountering a larger society, he

has only to signify his wishes, and the master of the house will even sometimes condescend to make one of his guests. In the apartments which are appropriated for the reception of company (though here and there the same strange mixture of discomfort and magnificence which we have remarked in the private rooms cannot fail to strike the eye), a degree of splendour and taste in furniture and decoration appears which suits extremely well with the sort of homage which is exacted from all around her by the lady of the house; a stricter attention, perhaps, to order and cleanliness in the economy of the lobbies and anti-rooms would certainly be desirable, yet a more simple (and therefore to an English eye more comfortable) style of furniture would not so well correspond with the air of show and display which belongs in so marked a degree to the manners and establishments of the great people of this country.

"The number of domestics in constant attendance (though we should in this country consider them as an useless incumbrance) are also necessary appendages in keeping up the degree of show and parade which is here thought requisite; and it is carried to such an extent, that there is scarcely to be found a Polish lady who has not a young Cossack whose exclusive duty it is to act as her page.

"The very hospitality of the Poles renders it hopeless to look in their dwellings for cleanliness and order, and it is fair to state the obstacles which must effectually prevent

the adoption, with them, of more comfortable habits, when we mention the annoyances which prevail in the best houses in Poland.

"In the first place, it must be remarked, that as the feudal habits of connexion between the lord and his vassal are less obsolete here than in any other part of the world, a considerable portion of every nobleman's mansion is a mere receptacle for his friends and dependants. They come without invitation, and depart without taking leave; their stay, which is sometimes prolonged for months, may be, as it often is, for weeks unknown to their landlord; and they enter into such complete possession of the rooms allotted to them, that it is not surprising if, in the course of these tremendous visitations, the quarter assigned to them should generally suffer materially by the *etourderie* of the master, and the filthiness of the servant.

"I remember my surprise when the son-in-law of our hostess proposed to try my pistols at a mark fixed against the door of one of the rooms I was inhabiting. It was in vain that I remonstrated against such a disorderly proceeding; the votes went against me, and a few hours' practice reduced one end of my apartment to the condition of a target.

"I cannot either easily forget a scene which took place at an entertainment given by the eccentric though good-humoured person I have just mentioned, on the departure from Tulchyzn of one of our English friends. Count S. amongst other travelling appendages which are considered

indispensable by a Polish grandee, had brought with him a considerable stock of wine, and an excellent French cook, with a very powerful *batterie de cuisine*. It was decided that Francois should display his art, on the occasion to which I have alluded, in providing an ambiguous sort of meal at two o'clock in the count's own rooms: the talents of the artisan were highly extolled, and such was the effect of his artillery upon the party, that with the aid of considerable reinforcements of champagne, the feast ended as many have done among people less given to intoxication than the Poles, and it is not to be imagined that the ornaments of the count's apartments suffered less damage than the heads of some of his guests.

"If the eye be offended by the havoc made on such occasions, the olfactory sense suffers in an equal degree, for smoking is the never failing accompaniment of such convivial meetings; and though the Turkish tobacco is of the mild sort, and the practice dignified by all the parade of amber mouth-pieces, and cherry and jasmin pipes, yet the chamber-furniture remains without any chance of purification."

"I found, upon enquiry, that I was fortunate in the time I had chosen for my visit to Tulchyzn; most of the members of the family were assembled, to settle some affairs of importance respecting the property of the late Count P.: several of my English friends were also here, and amongst the foreign birds of passage I was glad to find the Prince of N., Count M., and General M., the commander of the Moldavian army.

"A short interval before dinner is devoted by Madame P. to receive the salutations and enquiries of her guests, and to welcome the new comers; and as attendance at her apartments in the morning is by no means expected, this process is conducted with nearly as much form and ceremony as can be witnessed at the court of one of the minor German potentates. The operation of dining forms a considerable feature in the internal economy of every foreigner's house. As in Germany and Russia, it is here tediously long; and the chief domestics of the family being admitted to the seats at the bottom of the table, the party seldom consisted of less than 35 or 40 persons: to this practice, so calculated to keep up the intimate connexion which subsisted in the feudal times between the chief and his dependants, I should have no objection to urge, if a greater degree of equality was preserved in the distribution of the good things of which all should partake; but the choice wine is not intended for general circulation, (though I could not discover that its precise limits were marked by the salt-cellar, as in our own country of old) and a more tantalizing situation cannot be imagined than that of the hungry vassal who sees an inviting dish, which is never to return, carried from under his nose to the side-board for dissection.

"The *après diner* is short: coffee is served, and the whole party retire till nine o'clock, as if by mutual consent, to their own or each other's apartments, when the hostess again appears, ready to receive them: if the puppets are in operation, this interval is passed in the theatre

belonging to the house, which is sufficiently large for the representation of more important performances.

" Gambling, and that for considerable sums, forms, I believe, a necessary part of the daily occupation of every Polish gentleman. No evening passed without it; nor could it be expected where Count M. was in company. I observed that cards were only occasionally introduced, but that the favourite game consisted in pitching ducats from the edge of the table so as to cover one placed in the middle. The winner sometimes carried off a handful in this way.

" Amusement, however, of other kinds, was always to be found; music, and dancing, and supper had their turn; and on the first day of the year, on which occasion all the neighbourhood were collected, as much waltzing and *polonaizing* was exhibited, in as full an assembly as would satisfy the most persevering frequenter of parties in London.

" This day was also marked by the marriage of a very beautiful female, related to the family. A dinner, more splendid in its decorations, more crowded, and of longer duration than ordinary, formed the prelude to the performance of the matrimonial rites, which ceremony took place in the adjoining room.

" The repeated bumpers to the bride's health, which had succeeded each other at dinner with more than usual rapidity, could not fail of producing their natural effect; and so marked was their influence upon that member of the

family to whose lot it fell to give the fair creature away, but the ceremony had nothing of the solemnity and tribulation belonging to it, which is generally observable elsewhere. It certainly had the recommendation, in my eyes, of being the merriest wedding I ever witnessed: what the forms of proceeding are in more sober moments, I do not pretend to say.

"The new married couple did not consider it necessary, for the sake of retirement after the bustle of the day, to run the risk of being frozen to death by decamping in a chaise and four (or, as I should express it more correctly, in a *britzcki* or *kibitki*, the winter carriages of this country); but I found afterwards that they had suffered a still worse persecution, in being exposed, at a most inconveniently early hour the next morning, to the congratulations of those who, to do honour to their nuptials, had sat up the whole night, making copious libations to their health.

"This evening is impressed on my memory as well by the circumstances I have detailed, as by a conversation I held (or rather attempted to hold) with a venerable old Pole, splendidly habited in the ancient dress of his country. He spoke no language but his own, and Latin, which at first was to me equally unintelligible; my ear at last became accustomed to his pronunciation of the latter, and I listened, with great interest, to the account of his early achievements against Lord Heathfield (of whom he spoke with high admiration) at Gibraltar; to his lamentations

on the present state of Poland, on the bitter disappointment which his countrymen had suffered, when their eyes were opened to the true nature of all the promises of Buonaparte.

"Foreigners are, in general, extremely deficient in resources for the occupation of their mornings in the country; for exercise is not with them an object of importance. Their breakfast is an uncomfortable meal, taken *en robe de chambre*, between sleeping and waking and smoking; and here, as well as elsewhere on the continent, few leave their apartment for that purpose.

"Excepting when any great general scheme of amusement was in contemplation, the immediate retainers of the house were the only attendants at the public breakfast, which was always prepared in the palace for those who chose to go there: but on the occasion of a *grande chasse*, or similar project, a great display of oysters from the Black Sea, with champagne and other luxuries, presented too inviting a repast to be resisted in the middle of the day; the result, however, as may well be imagined, seldom tended to render the aim of the sportsmen in shooting more deliberate or precise.

"The trainage being in excellent order, and the weather uncommonly mild for the time of year, the ladies were induced to assist at one of the first hunting expeditions which took place after my arrival. It was amusing enough to see the vehicles which were brought to the door for their especial conveyance. They had the air of those in use at the court of Louis XIV. with the substitution of a light sledge for the ponderous wheels belonging to the

carriages of that time; and six horses were required to set in motion such weighty machines. The men who were to be conveyed found places as they could, in open *traineaux* of various descriptions.

"I should imagine that the country around Tulchyzn must be extremely agreeable in the finer season of the year. It is prettily diversified with hill and dale, and the large open cultivated spots are here and there broken very happily by masses of wood of considerable extent.

"The wolf being the particular object of this day's sport, our motions were directed to one of these insulated woods, which we found had already been carefully surrounded with nets, and in the centre was assembled a motley collection of mongrels ready to be let loose for the purpose of securing the game: the sportsmen were then stationed at the different passes, and the halloo began. I observed that the wolf never condescended to turn upon the currish tribe which followed barking at his heels, except with an occasional snarl of contempt, but constantly made for the nearest point for escape, and it generally ended with his being shot in attempting to break through the nets; in this way four were disposed of in the course of the morning, and a fifth was added to the list of slain, though not until he had afforded us a more than usual degree of sport: having contrived to escape from the toils into the open country, three of the large Siberian greyhounds were let loose upon him; as he went away in a most gallant style, we were obliged to mount our horses in order to follow

him, and after a gallop which was amply sufficient to exhaust the united efforts of all Madame P's stud (who were by no means used to such lengthened performances), we succeeded in coming up with him when on the point of being seized by the dogs. He then stood at bay, made a desperate leap at the throat of the horse I was riding, and falling back in the effort, was immediately seized by the greyhounds, and shortly dispatched by a *couteau de chasse*. This was the best day's sport that I recollect, and I perhaps found it the more interesting from having accidentally been posted near the Prince of N. As our patience became exhausted, the necessity of keeping silence was forgotten; and he gave me a very amusing detail of his exploits at the great siege of Gibraltar; in which he had taken a very considerable share.

"I assisted at various other parties *de chasse*, which were, for the most part, extremely dull, except as they led us into a new part of the country; a great slaughter of hares was the general result, but no game of a nobler description.

"I cannot dismiss the subject of Poland without bearing testimony, in the fullest degree, to the agreeable qualities of the higher orders of society, both male and female, and to the great attention, as far as I could discover, which strangers invariably receive from them. The women possess in general a more than common degree of beauty, a superior figure, and great powers of pleasing: the men are, for the most part, thoroughly practised in the ways of the

world, and peculiarly calculated to shine in society. Every Polish nobleman has seen more or less of foreign countries, and has something to say upon every subject; and though it may be doubted whether any great depth of information or sincerity of feeling is to be found among them, yet as casual acquaintances, few people are more agreeable.

"Of the kindness which I, in common with others, experienced from our hostess, I cannot say too much; her means are ample, and she possesses the art of enjoying them: the rupture between the two countries, of which we received intelligence whilst at Tulchyzn, and the refusal of permission for the English to proceed to St. Petersburg, (which became, by the turn that public affairs had taken in Austria and Turkey, the only outlet) rendered our situation at one time a little embarrassing.

"To attempt a retreat at last became necessary, and after a good deal of discussion with general K. who then commanded at Kiev, the first town of importance that occurred on our road, we succeeded in obtaining permission to prosecute our journey to the capital, although not without being placed under the surveillance of a Russian officer, who accompanied us the whole of the way."

In the present æra of general peace we were happily free from such occurrences as might have been the lot of travellers a few years back; no difficulties indeed of any sort occurred. Our horses were good, our roads excellent, and so much intercourse was kept up on this line, that a stage coach was constantly travelling between Lemberg

and Vienna, and this in no way inferior, as to equipment, to those which are seen in France or Germany, though the journey of 96 German miles occupied 12 days. The inns had gradually improved since we entered Poland, we were provided with clean beds and excellent accommodations, and a *table d' hote* was always found prepared towards the middle of the day, which we made a point of frequenting. The company generally consisted of some Austrian officers, a few merchants, and some of the petty seigneurs of the country. The French language was not commonly talked, few seeming masters of it, but Latin was used in its stead; for to converse in that tongue is made a necessary point of education at all the schools, and we met no one but had acquired the art of speaking it with fluency. I should add, that the Poles are celebrated for their ready talent in this respect, and are in general better linguists than even the Russians themselves.

It was at one of these meetings in the hotel at Jaroslav, that we were accosted, to our surprise, by a fellow-countryman, who made many enquiries about England;—having satisfied him,—he told us in return, that he had been brought hither by a Polish nobleman, and employed in the superintendance of a brewery near this place; but that the speculation failed, and he met with great losses. He had, however, nearly forgotten his mother tongue, and his story was to our ears scarcely intelligible.

From Tarnov to Bochnia and Wielicsa, we viewed nothing but a repetition of what we had before seen; an open

country of grain, varied by low ranges of hills, and intersected by the small rivers that characterise a remote inland district.

The salt-works at Bochnia would have detained us, if we had not a greater object in view at our next stage, the mines of Wielicsa, which have been so much celebrated; they form, indeed, one of the largest labyrinths of excavation in Europe, and being peopled with upwards of 2000 souls, give a complete idea of a subterranean world. Some notion of their extent may be conceived when it is related that the whole town is completely undermined: the galleries extending in length, from east to west, about 6000 feet, and about one third of that distance in breadth; the total depth is estimated at 140 cläfter or fathoms; and this is perpetually on the increase. We were lowered by a wheel down one of the shafts, for about forty fathoms, being a party of sixteen seated in slings that were attached to a large cable: arrived at the first gallery, we halted, and thence descended to a second, a third, and even a fourth, by means of regular stairs cut in the rock of salt. But the more splendid part of the sight consists in the chambers or vaults, of which upwards of three hundred are contained in the circuit, many of them of very large dimensions; the chief was that called the Psikos, in which nearly the whole of the area was filled with water.

At the time when the King of Saxony paid a visit to this place, after taking possession of his moiety of the

mines as Duke of Warsaw, in the year 1810, the Psikos cavern was selected for exhibition: it was splendidly lighted up with tapers, and a full band of music floating on the dark lake, made the roof re-echo with patriotic airs in honour of the re-establishment of the Polish sovereignty. It was on the same occasion that a ball was given in the great hall on the first gallery, which is a large room regularly shaped, and of about fifty or sixty feet in length. The sparkling surface of the rock salt reflecting the blaze of the chandeliers, and the various coloured dresses of a numerous assemblage of company, are said to have displayed an appearance inconceivably brilliant: but having no means of judging, from our humble survey, of the effect of such preparations, we were more delighted with many other parts than the present cheerless aspect of the great hall; and perhaps the chapel of Cunegunda struck us as more beautiful than any thing else that had on that day been exhibited. The æra of its formation is almost coeval with the opening of the mine, and is calculated to have taken place about 600 years back; the simple round style of its architecture bears, indeed, testimony to its antiquity. It is chiefly remarkable, however, for its material: the columns with their high wrought capitals, the arches with their ornamental groins, niches with the images of saints, and all the decorations of the altar, are carved in the transparent rock-salt; and two priests, whose figures are cut out in the same way, are represented at prayers before the shrine

of the patron saint. But these wonders have already furnished matter to more vivid imaginations, and found a place among tales of romance; I shall therefore conclude my story.

The article, as prepared for traffic, is cut in large cubical blocks, and carried away without farther package, since its quality is so pure by nature, that to perfect it for use it is simply reduced to powder; no process of solution being requisite, or any other mode of manufacture.

The net receipts arising from the mines are not of so great an amount as might be expected; they are stated, it is said, at 2,000,000 florins of annual revenue *.

Leaving Wielicsa we continued our route, having received the permission of the governor of Lemberg to extend our journey a few miles beyond the frontier of Gallicia. The country was bare of trees, and void of any features of dignity; but the stream of the Vistula, with the spires of Cracow rising in its valley, were sufficient to diversify the appearance. Neither were memorials wanting that should illustrate the antiquity of the spot, or its claim to interest. Immediately above the river side stood a large earthen *tumulus*, that marked the grave of Cracus the founder of the city: a little higher up the river side was a similar earthy erection, in honour of his daughter Wenda, whose history borders upon the marvellous. She was a princess

* The workmen can make, with industry, about two paper florins each per day. The thermometer stood at 58° Fahrenheit, being at this time 82° in the open air; but the number of lights constantly burning perhaps increased the heat beyond the natural temperature of the earth.

whose soul was given to war; and, unwilling to yield to the controul of any softer passion, she promised to give her hand to him alone who should prove her conqueror in the field. Ritigner was the last of a long list of lovers who marshalled a body of troops to woo by force of arms the Amazonian heroine. But his soldiers possessing less ardour in the cause than inspired their chieftain, ignominiously refused the combat, and fled before the Cracovite forces. Ritigner upon this (and indeed he could not well do less) threw himself upon his sword in despair, and expired in the sight of his mistress. To conclude the tale, Wenda returned victorious to her capital; but feeling unhappy in the celebration of such a triumph, she also played the Roman, and made away with herself by plunging into the Vistula, and devoting herself, yet a virgin, to the embraces of the river god.

Stretching our eyes beyond these monuments, a place of interest in later history was eagerly pointed out to us by our peasant drivers; it was the field of Zechokino, a spot where the brave Kosciusko, with his band of peasant soldiers, gained a victory over the Russians during their second attack upon the liberties of Poland. He lay with his men in ambuscade, and falling upon the enemy unawares, slaughtered near half the number on the spot. Cracow was already in the hands of the Poles, this success seemed to rouse the whole nation at once to exertion, and faint hopes of success were for a while entertained.

But it was useless now to sigh after the phantoms of

freedom and independence. The antiquity of the foundation of this place, and the celebrity which it once enjoyed, were but melancholy recollections at this day, when Cracow shewed itself stripped of all its former wealth, and accustomed by long experience to the yoke of foreign tyrants.

This last circumstance was curiously exemplified. The barriers of the Podgorge or southern suburb were painted with the white eagle; but we were accosted by an Austrian guard from the military detachment who occupied the right bank of the river. On crossing the ferry to the second quarter of the town, a Russian officer commenced his examination; and a few yards farther we were similarly visited by the civil authorities of the Saxon, or, as they called it, Polish government, who were, it seemed, still continued in their functions. On driving through the place, the streets appeared old and dismal, and marked in general with that aspect of gloom which the decay of a once flourishing trade never fails to produce.* In the outskirts appeared many houses fallen into neglect, and in an absolute state of ruin. The fact indeed, that out of a population which once consisted of 80,000 only a fourth part should now remain, is conclusive, and may serve to give an

* Day labour, 30 creutzers. 60 creutzers = 1 florin (silver) = 3 shillings English.

The currency of the place, on this side of the Vistula, was carried on in specie, chiefly the 20-creutzer pieces of Prussia, or the coinage of the dukedom of Warsaw.

There was a manufactory of cloth, another of blue dyes, and a brewery; but none of these were in any great state of activity.

idea of the present lonesome and impoverished condition of Cracow.

So much were the national customs superseded by the introduction of foreign habits, that we observed very few examples of the Polish dress any where in the streets: one or two seigneurs only were seen who wore the short cassoc of blue or brown, tied with a red sash about their loins, and the white square-topped cap on their heads, a costume well adapted to the tall and comely figure of a noble Pole. A few also of the older men among the peasantry displayed their loose hose and boots, and the white cloth gown over their shoulders, and their heads shaved with only a circle of hair left on the top: but these symptoms of attachment to ancient form were very rare, and the ladies were invariably attired in the French or German fashions.

The citadel of Cracow stands proudly on an eminence commanding the town: it is surrounded with lofty walls and high towers, and contains within its precincts the remains of several public buildings belonging to the former government. But the palace, as well as the house of diet, have been demolished by the Austrians, and barracks for their soldiers (no inappropriate substitution) erected on the foundations.

The cathedral is a handsome structure, and well deserves the observation of strangers, for many other points than its great bell, or its chapel covered with a roof of golden tiles. Among the tombs of their kings we read the

names of Mcislas, Jagellon, Casimir the Great, Sigismond I. Stephen Battori, and Sobieski the saviour of Vienna; men that once had an influence in the great affairs of Europe, and respect for whom ought to have ensured a better fate for their unhappy posterity. The chair formerly used at the solemnities of coronation is also preserved here: the aged guide seemed almost in tears when he pointed it out to our attention, and told he was present when Poniatowski was placed in that seat.

This was an overflow of patriotism that might have been spared: their last king was sovereign of Poland, it is true; but the name was the only claim he had in that capacity to the affection of the nation. All other circumstances, however, are now forgotten in the general regret for the extinction of the crown. We might judge from our friend's sensibility of the incoherent nature of his ideas: he afterwards pointed out to us the sewer, through which a party of his countrymen, the members of the confederation of Barr, crept into the castle by night, with the intention of stealing away the puppet Poniatowski; and he displayed, on this occasion, the same emotion as we had witnessed on beholding the chair of coronation, or the tomb where his ashes reposed. Of this description, in general, are the sentiments of the people who cry out for independence, but neither know what it is they have lost, or what is the nature of that tyranny which they so much wish to see renewed.

The church of N. D., the monastery of St. Stephen,

the botanical garden, the university, built in a semi-gothic style, and the public promenade of the garden of Lodi, were also objects worthy of attention: though the most curious quarter of Cracow is that of the Casimir town, being wholly inhabited by Jews, and having been originally built for that people by the monarch whose name it bears.

The Jews are first said to have been introduced into Gallicia by Bolesłaus, King of Haliez, in 1264. But the period of their prosperity commenced in the reign of Casimir the Great, who, instigated by his beautiful Jewish concubine Esther, granted them so many immunities and privileges as attracted settlers from all parts of Germany to his dominions. They afterwards became a body highly useful and acceptable to the nobility, not only by their commercial connexions, but by the activity with which they engaged in their domestic concerns: and by degrees they made themselves necessary to them, completely occupying the place of that middle rank in society, to which a wiser system of policy would have elevated the native vassals. They filled all the chief houses of trade in the town and country, and were, in general, the stewards and agents of all landed property, and finally grew to form so powerful a class, that they not only procured the right of establishing judicial tribunals among themselves (subject only to the waywode) but were allowed to have an officer, nominated by the king, who should attend the meetings of the diet on behalf of their sect.

I. T. James del.t

L. Clark sculp.t

UNIVERSITY of CRACOW.

By their present governors they seemed rather viewed as profitable objects of taxation than in any more honourable light, and they suffered accordingly the most enormous exactions: a capitation tax is fair enough, but it is not on quite so equitable a principle that the law, taking advantage of their peculiar habits and customs, lays an heavy burden upon them which is impossible to evade: thus, as they never shed blood themselves, the privilege of having an animal killed is valued at 15 groschen; if a turkey, one florin and a half is paid, or for a goose one florin. This last is a very productive impost, for the greasy nature of this bird makes it a favourite dish among the Jews, who cannot taste the forbidden flesh of swine. They are taxed again for the candles burnt in their synagogue, and for the large flambeaux used at the ceremony of marriage, and for many other similar articles.

To give an opinion of them, they are, as far as strangers could judge, an industrious and persevering people, and of a nature that, notwithstanding the oppressive hand of government, seem every where to thrive; some, indeed, have amassed large fortunes in spite of all difficulties, and settling in one or other of the jewish towns, live in a state of considerable opulence and luxury.

With regard to the Polish nobility, the extent of their power as individuals, as well as politically speaking, has been much diminished since the annihilation of the semi-republican form of government. In the parts under the government of Austria and Prussia, the inordinate autho-

rity of the seigneur over his vassals has been restrained by law. They do not now enjoy the right of inflicting corporal punishment; nor, indeed, are slaves now, as formerly the case, attached to the glebe, so that their condition, in some respects, assimilates to that of the German peasant. Besides this, the manners of the nobles themselves are greatly changed and improved (as was before remarked) by intercourse with their neighbours. There are those, it is true, who confine themselves almost entirely to their country residences; but a great proportion are to be found in society, at the respective capitals of their sovereigns, particularly at Petersburg and Vienna. They are many of them also employed in official situations, for which they are made equally eligible with the rest of their fellow subjects.

Those who have fallen under the domination of Prussia are excluded from any share in public employments; but, notwithstanding this unjust exception; the mild nature and excellent regulations of the Prussian government have succeeded in making it more generally popular and acceptable among all classes in Poland than either the Russian or Austrian administrations.

As to the feelings of the country in general, and their desire to recover that independence which had lately been so much talked about; a strong spirit of enthusiasm appeared almost every where to prevail. The nobles viewed in the common cause the recovery of their fancied rights; the people heard it only as a name: still it was the

watchword of patriotism, and all were actuated by the same wish to see Poland re-established in the rank of nations. The levies made in the neighbourhood during the occupation of Cracow by the French were raised by ballot, but without resorting to any harsh means of compulsion: the people were ripe for action, and every Pole has a soul for war. One of the citizens amused us much, by recounting a story of his being called upon by a French officer to go and inspect one of these bands of irregulars: they were peasants, in their working dress, armed with scythes fastened on long staves, weapons that promised, in their hands, to be by no means inefficient. They had gone through several evolutions in excellent style, when our friend paid some compliment to their commandant on their proficiency. He allowed they succeeded extremely well, and that their forwardness was very creditable to the corps, considering the short time they had been embodied; but, added he, this is not all; wait a few instants, and you shall hear my regimental music. Upon this the word was given, and the whole line drew forth their whetstones from their sides, and began to sharpen their scythes with such a blithe and merry sound as dinned the ears of his astonished companion.

It cannot be held surprising that the proclamations of Buonaparte should have produced a certain effect upon the minds of the people of Poland, when they had so long looked to France for deliverance. The legion of Dombrowski at the time of the second partition, finding all the efforts of the country to be unavailing, retired to that country, offering

its services to the friends of revolutionary liberty. From hence a constant connexion was kept up between the two nations; and Dombrowski being sent hither during the war of 1809, his presence excited an enthusiastic feeling that induced numerous volunteers to join the French army. The subsequent appointment of Poniatowski (nephew of the late king) to command a corps d'armee, seemed to raise their hopes to the highest pitch; at the same time the most flattering promises were uttered by the French government, and upwards of fourteen millions of people heard the call. When the marshal entered Cracow, the shops were lighted up, every public honour lavished on his arrival, and the citizens seemed to think the emancipation of their country was at hand. This spirit, however, was sufficiently repressed in the eastern parts of Poland by the Russian troops: the levies were scanty, and, indeed, says Pradt, Volhynia "afforded us only two soldiers;" but where these tyrants were not numerous, symptoms of insubordination manifested themselves in daily murmurs and discontent. Even at Kiev we were informed that a tone of insolence and presumption, before unknown, was constantly in the mouths of the Poles who were resident there, from the highest to the lowest orders, and an almost revolutionary freedom of manner reigned throughout.

At this time, now that the power of France was humbled, the fallen chieftain was still regarded with the most friendly eye; and the reports that we heard in circulation of open dissensions between the new king and his people, of armies in the field, &c. of French marshals

divided into parties and exciting the broils of civil war, were sufficient evidences in themselves of the real wishes of those who forged and propagated these stories.

The name or even semblance of independence is so popular, however, and the creation of the dukedom of Warsaw was so much approved, that I have no doubt but that the promulgation of the new constitution, under the viceroyalty of Russia, (promising at least the reunion of the nation) will be not ill received on the part of the people.

August 9.—We now repassed the Vistula to the Austrian territories, and after some trouble with the *douaniers*, who were very diligent in their search after tea or tobacco, we regained the road to Vienna. On passing under the beautiful monastery of Calvary, and ascending the first offset of those long ranges that branch out from the Krapaks, the scene opened to us a noble amphitheatre of mountains, stretching from the Silesian frontier far round to the southern horizon. The foreground was not much diversified: we were met now and then by a Jew trader, with cargoes of hides or salt, and our ears were sometimes assailed by the creaking waggons that conveyed the copper money to Vienna which had been received from the salt mines, or here and there were more agreeably saluted by a chorus of women chanting hymns as they returned from working in the fields. Occasionally we encountered a solitary traveller on the road, and of these we were most interested for a poor Pole at Zebnik, who requested a seat at the back of our carriage: he had

served as a soldier in the French army, in the war of 1812; had been at Moscow, Viasma, Dorogobusch, Smolensko, &c. and was finally taken prisoner at Dresden in the late campaign: he was now on his return home, having refused service in the Austrian army, and about to live in retirement, a suspected character, as was naturally the lot of but too many who were engaged in the late transactions.

We saw on this side of Gallicia also, as well as we had on the other, numerous bodies of Austrian troops on their way to the frontier. They were provided with trains of artillery, of caissons, of pontoons, and every material of war; and carried but little the appearance (which we were told was the object of their march) of being intended as a mere guard of honour, to receive the Emperor of Russia on his expected arrival. The Russians, on their side, did not seem to be inactive; and from appearances one might judge that a large army was drawing together in the neighbourhood of Cracow.

It was easy to foresee that if the cession of Gallicia* were insisted upon by Russia, war must ensue. But now being

* Gallicia (or Lodomeria, according to its name in diplomacy) was formerly a part of the kingdom of Hungary. It was separated in the person of a daughter of Lewis, King of Hungary and Poland, Hedwigi by name, who married Jagellon, Duke of Lithuania, and taking Gallicia as her portion united it to the crown of Poland. This sort of claim, however, is now out of fashion in modern political arrangements: and it must be observed that it is called a separate kingdom, the emperor's titles being Hungariæ, Bohemiæ, et Galliciæ Rex.

on our way to the congress at Vienna, it was folly to speculate on political contingencies, and we pursued our road heedless of the promise of these warlike demonstrations.

At Belitz we took our leave of Poland, and passing through Austrian Silesia and Moravia, arrived in the course of the month at Vienna.

To the eye of a mineralogist, the country we had traversed would present one vast plain, from the rocks of Finland to the foot of the Carpathian Mountains: the eminences that occurred at Valdai, at Moscow, Smolensko, Kiev, &c. can scarcely be said to make any material variation in its form. Numerous rivers, it may be supposed, intersect this surface, and the soil, as to its fertility, shews many degrees of excellence.

The plains about Valdai, as well as the hills themselves, were covered with sand; and on their summits, which had in some parts a broken appearance, we found numerous boulder stones of red gneiss, mica slate, and other fragments of primitive rocks: the height may be about 400 feet. It may be worth while here to make an observation which is not wholly inapplicable to this subject; namely, that the tracts lying to the north of this point seem to have an higher general elevation than those on the south: inasmuch as the rivers taking their course in that direction are slow and torpid, while the Don, the Wolga, and the rivers on the opposite side, flow with great rapidity, although the course they have to run to their respective seas is much longer than the line to the Baltic; and therefore, if these two

plains were of equal elevation, the force of their currents would be proportionably diminished.

Boggy ground and black mould succeeded occasionally; but the soil assumed a redder hue as we approached the government of Moscow; and the little cliffs that overhung the Moskwa river to the east and west were entirely of red rock marl. This soil generally predominated in the line we took to Smolensko, though here some calcareous sandstone also broke out in places. The river Dnieper, at this part, lies extremely deep in its bed, bearing a striking resemblance, both in the colour and form of its banks, as well as its size, to the river Severn, in Shropshire and Worcestershire. The same soil continued on our road to the south, only growing blacker as we approached the beds of the Desna or the Dnieper; and some distance from the latter we observed large plains of sand, extending on both sides, as is generally the case with great rivers.

The Hill of Kiev, which is of considerable elevation, is entirely of fine sandstone; on the south is a naked steppe, and on the west our road soon carried us from the rising ground on which the town stands to a level plain.

The banks of the river at Zytomir were again of a red soil, and on the Slucz, at the town of Novgorod Volhynskoi, we were surprised with the appearance of a sienitic rock, which rose thirty or forty feet over the river banks. The ground above was of the same nature we had so often met with, but perhaps of a more decided ochrous colour. The grounds of our approach on the left side of the river

had been for some distance a little more varied in their form and height; and a few boulder stones of a granitic formation were scattered in various directions.

At Sokolavla we passed over one of the secondary branches of the Krapaks. The rock was a yellowish, granular, shelly limestone; the same appeared at Lemberg, but surmounted by high sand hills: as we receded from the limits of this formation, we came again upon the red soil, which, however, was mixed with sand.

At Wielicsa we were on the immense bed of fossil salt that breaks out on every side of the Carpathian ranges. It lay imbedded and stratified in parts with shale; the point where the pure rock salt commenced was at a depth not much short of an hundred feet under the argillaceous stratum.

Near Cracow we again came on the limestone formation; it was an extremely compact rock, containing shells, and what was more extraordinary, occasionally exhibiting small black flints imbedded in it. We were told there was coal to be found about six miles higher on the Vistula.

As our road only passed over the secondary formations of the great range of the Krapaks, any further hint on this subject would be useless; and indeed their description has already been published by a writer far better informed on the subject.

THE END.

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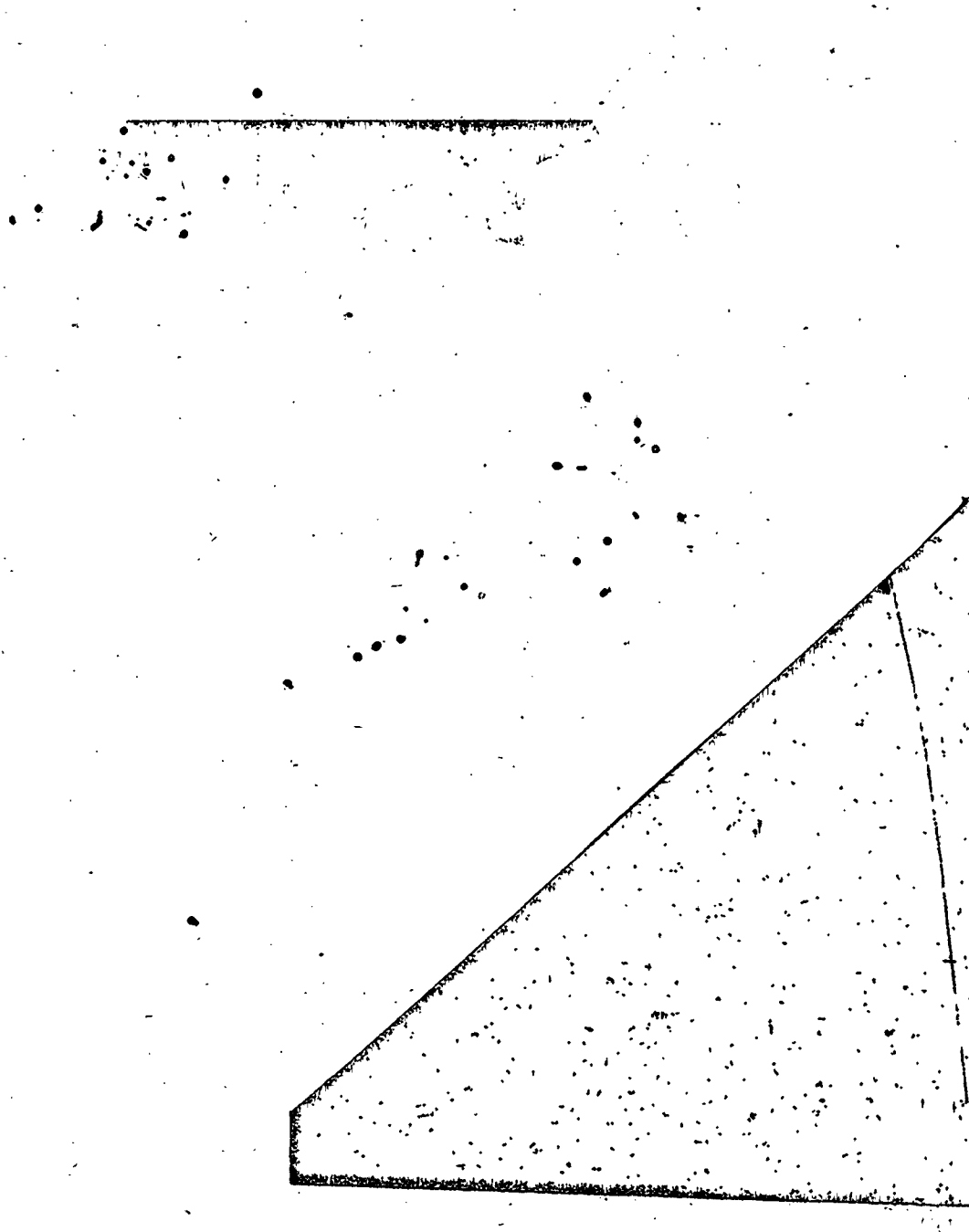

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